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[Lyndale, William]

THE WORKS

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OF THE

ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH

REFORMERS.

EDITED BY

THOMAS RUSSELL, A.M.

Ἀνθρώποις παραδεδωκόσι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.—Act. Apost. xv. 26.

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VOL. IV.

The Works of Tyndale continued:

THE TESTAMENT OF WILLIAM TRACY EXPOUNDED.

THE SUPPER OF THE LORD.

The Works of Frith.

HIS LIFE AND MARTYRDOM.

A DISPUTATION OF PURGATORY.

A BULWARK AGAINST RASTELL.

HIS JUDGMENT UPON TRACY'S TESTAMENT.

A LETTER WRITTEN FROM THE TOWER TO CHRIST'S CONGREGATION.

A MIRROR, OR GLASS TO KNOW THYSELF.

A TREATISE UPON THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM.

AN ANTITHESIS BETWEEN CHRIST AND THE POPE.

A BOOK OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST.

ARTICLES FOR WHICH HE DIED.

EPISTLE TO THE CHRISTIAN READER, PREFIXED TO THE REVELATION OF ANTICHRIST.

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THE TESTAMENT

OF

MASTER WILLIAM TRACY, ESQUIRE,

EXPOUNDED BY

WILLIAM TYNDALE;

WHEREIN THOU SHALT PERCEIVE WITH WHAT CHARITY THE CHANCELLOR OF WORCESTER BURNED, WHEN HE TOOK UP THE DEAD CARCASS, AND MADE ASHES OF IT AFTER IT WAS BURIED. 1535.

TO THE READER.

THOU shalt understand, most dear reader, that after William Tyndale was so Judasly betrayed by an Englishman, a scholar of Louvain, whose name is Phillips, there were certain things of his doing found, which he had intended to have put forth to the furtherance of God's word, among which was this Testament of M. Tracy, expounded by himself, whereunto was annexed the exposition of the same of John Frith's doing and own hand-writing, which I have caused to be put in print, to the intent that all the world should see how earnestly the Canonists and spiritual lawyers (which be the chief rulers under Bishops in

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every diocese, in so much that in every Cathedral Church the Dean, Chancellor, and Archdeacon, are commonly Doctors or Bachelors of law) do endeavour themselves justly to judge, and spiritually to give sentence according to charity, upon all the acts and deeds done of their Diocesans, after the example of the Chancellor of Worcester, which after M. Tracy was buried (of pure zeal and love hardly), took up the dead carcass and burnt it. Wherefore he did it, it shall evidently appear to the reader in this little treatise: read it therefore, I beseech thee, and judge the spirits of our spiritualty, and pray that the Spirit of Him that raised up Christ, may once inhabit them, and mollify their hearts, and so illumine them, that they may both see and show true light, and no longer to resist God nor his truth. Amen.

THE TESTAMENT ITSELF.

IN the name of God, Amen. I William Tracy, of Todington, in the county of Gloucester, Esquire, make my Testament and last Will, as hereafter followeth.

First, and before all other thing, I commit me unto God, and to his mercy, trusting without any doubt or mistrust, that by his grace and the merits of Jesus Christ, and by the virtue of his passion, and of his resurrection, I have and shall have remission of my sins,

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and resurrection of body and soul, according as it is written, (Job xix.) I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and that in the last day I shall rise out of the earth, and in my flesh shall see my Saviour. This my hope is laid by in my bosom.

And as touching the wealth of my soul, the faith that I have taken and rehearsed, is sufficient (as I suppose) without any other man's work or works. My ground and my belief is, that there is but one God, and one Mediator between God and Man, which is Jesus Christ. So that I do accept none in heaven nor in earth to be my mediator between me and God, but only Jesus Christ, all other be but petitioners in receiving of grace, but none able to give influence of grace. And therefore will I bestow no part of my goods for that intent, that any man should say or do to help my soul; for therein I trust only to the promise of God, He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned. (Mark, the last chapter.)

And touching the burying of my body, it availeth me not what be done thereto, wherein St. Augustine, *De cura agenda pro mortuis*, saith, that they are rather the solace of them that live, than the wealth or comfort of them that are departed; and therefore I remit it only to the discretion of mine executors.

And touching the distribution of my temporal goods, my purpose is, by the grace of God, to bestow them to be accepted as fruits of faith. So that I do not suppose that my merit be by good bestowing of them, but my merit is the faith of Jesus Christ only, by which faith such works are good, according to the words of our Lord, (Matt. xxv.) I was hungry, and thou gavest me to eat, and it followeth, that ye have done to the least of my brethren ye have done to me, &c. And ever we should consider the true sentence, that a good work maketh not a good man, but a good man maketh a good work, for faith maketh the man both good and righte-

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ous, for a righteous man liveth by faith. (Rom. i.) And whatsoever springeth not out of faith, is sin. (Rom. xiv.)

And all my temporal goods that I have not given, or delivered, or not given by writing of mine own hand, bearing the date of this present writing, I do leave and give to Margaret my wife, and to Richard my son, which I make mine executors. Witness this mine own hand, the 10th day of October, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

TYNDALE.

A description of God.

NOW let us examine the parts of this Testament sentence by sentence. First, to commit ourselves to God, above all, is the first of all precepts, and the first stone in the foundation of our faith, that we believe and put our trust in one God, one all true, one almighty, all good, and all merciful, cleaving fast to his truth, might, mercy, and goodness, surely certified and fully persuaded, that he is our God, yea ours, and to us all true, without all falsehood and guile, and cannot fail in his promises. And to us almighty, that his will cannot be let to fulfil all the truth that he hath promised us. And to us all good, and all merciful, whatsoever we have done, and howsoever grievously we have trespassed, so that we come to him the way that he hath appointed, which way is Jesus Christ only, as we shall see followingly. This first clause, then, is the first commandment, or at the least, the first sentence in the first commandment, and the first article of our creed.

Jesus Christ the only way to his Father.

And that this trust and confidence in the mercy of God is through Jesus Christ, is the second article of our creed, confirmed and testified throughout all scripture. That Christ bringeth us into this grace, Paul proveth,

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(Rom. 5.) saying, Justified by faith we are at peace with God, through Jesus Christ our Lord: by whom we have an entering in unto this grace in which we stand. And, (Eph. iii.) By whom, saith Paul, we have a bold entering in, through the faith that is in him: and in the second of the said Epistle, By him we have an entering in unto the Father; and a little before in the same chapter, He is our peace. And John in the first chapter, Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world, which sin was the bush that stopped the entering in, and kept us out, and the sword wherewith was kept the entering unto the tree of life from Adam and all his offspring.

And in the second of the first of Peter, Which bear our sins in his body, and by whose stripes we are made whole. By whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of our sins; (Collos. i. and Ephes. i.) (And Rom. iv.) He was delivered for our sins and rose again for our justifying.

The belief of the resurrection is an article of our faith.

And concerning the resurrection, it is an article of our faith, and proved there sufficiently; and that it shall be by the power of Christ, is also the open scripture.

(John vi.) This is the will of my father which sent me, that I lose nothing of all that he hath given me, but that I raise it up again in the last day. And again, I am the resurrection. (John xi.)

Faith is sufficient to justify us.

That this lively faith is sufficient to justification without adding to of any more help, is this wise proved: The promiser is God, of whom Paul saith, (Rom. viii.) If God be on our side, what matter maketh it who be against us? he is thereto all good, all merciful, all true, and all mighty, wherefore sufficient to be believed by his oath; moreover Christ, in whom the promise is made, hath received all power in heaven and in earth. (Matt. the last.)

He hath also a perpetual priesthood, and therefore able perpetually to save. (Heb. vii.)

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Christ the only mediator between God and man.

And that there is but one mediator, Christ, as Paul, 1 Tim. ii. And by that word understand an atone-maker, a peacemaker, and bringer into grace and favour, having full power so to do. And that Christ is so, is proved at the full. It is written (John iii.) The father loveth the son, and hath given all into his hand.

And he that believeth the son hath everlasting life, and he that believeth not the son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him. All things are given me of my father. (Luke x.) And all whosoever call on the name of the Lord shall be saved. (Acts ii.) Of his fulness have we all received. (John i.) There is no other name given to man in which we must be saved. (Acts iv.) And again, unto his name bear all the prophets record, that by his name shall all that believe in him receive remission. (Acts x.) In him dwelleth all the fulness of God bodily. (Col. ii.) All whatsoever my father hath are mine. (John xvi.) Whatsoever ye ask in my name, that will I do for you. (John xiv.) One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and father of all, which is above all, through all, and in you all. (Ephes. iv.) There is but one whose servant I am, to do his will; but one that shall pay me my wages. There is but one to whom I am bound, *ergo*, but one that hath power over me to damn or save me. I will add to this Paul's argument, Gal. iii. God sware unto Abraham four hundred years before the law was given, that we should be saved by Christ. *Ergo*, the law given four hundred years after cannot disannul that covenant. So dispute I. Christ, when he had suffered his passion, and was risen again and entered into his glory, was sufficient for his Apostles, without any other means or help, *ergo*, the holiness of no saint since hath diminished aught of that his power, but that he is as full sufficient now: for the promise is as deeply made to us as to them. Moreover, the treasure of his mercy was laid up in Christ for all

Arguments proving our salvation in Christ.

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that should believe, before the world was made, *ergo*, nothing that hath happened since hath changed the purpose of the inunvariable God.

The false faith of the down-falling sinner.

Moreover, to exclude the blind imagination falsely called faith, of them that give themselves to vice without resistance, affirming, that they have no power to do otherwise, but that God hath so made them, and therefore must save them, they not intending or purposing to mend their living, but sinning with whole consent and full lust, he declareth what faith he meaneth two manner of ways. First, by that he saith, whosoever believeth and is baptized, shall be saved. By which words he declareth evidently, that he meaneth that faith that is in the promise made upon the appointment between God and us, that we should keep his law to the uttermost of our power, that is, he that believeth in Christ for the remission of sin, and is baptized to do the will of Christ, and to keep his law of love, and to mortify the flesh, that man shall be saved: and so is the imagination of these swine that will not leave wallowing themselves in every mire and puddle, clean excluded: for God never made promise, but upon an appointment or covenant, under which whosoever will not come can be no partaker of the promise. True faith in Christ giveth power to love the law of God: for it is written, (John the first,) He gave them power to be the sons of God in that they believe in his name. Now, to be the son of God, is to love righteousness, and hate unrighteousness, and so to be like thy father. Hast thou then no power to love the law? so hast thou no faith in Christ's blood. And (Rom. iii.) We set up or maintain the law through faith, why so? for the preaching of faith ministereth the spirit. (Gal. iii.) (And 2 Cor. iii.) And the spirit looseth the bands of Satan, and giveth power to love the law, and also to do it.

Faith in the promise between God and us saveth our souls.

God's promises have covenants annexed unto them, the breakers whereof are excluded from the promise.

For saith Paul, (Rom. viii.) If the spirit of him that

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raised up Jesus dwell in you, then will he that raised up Jesus quicken your mortal bodies by the means of his spirit dwelling in you.

An objection of our adversaries against justification by faith.

Ah well (wilt thou say), if I must profess the law and work, *ergo*, faith alone saveth me not. Be not deceived with sophistry; but withdraw thy cares from words and consider the thing in thine heart. Faith justifyeth thee: that is, bringeth remission of all sins, and setteth thee in the state of grace before all works, and getteth thee power to work before thou couldst work; but if thou wilt not go back again, but continue in grace, and come to that salvation and glorious resurrection of Christ, thou must work and join works to thy faith in will and deed too, if thou have time and leisure, and as oft as thou fallest set thee on thy faith again without help of works. And although, when thou art reconciled and restored to grace, works be required; yet is not that reconciling and grace the benefit of the works that follow; but clean contrary, that forgiveness of thy sins and restoring to favour deserve the works that follow.

A compendious declaration of our justification by faith.

A similitude of an earthly king pardoning a condemned person.

Though when the king (after that sentence of death is given upon a murderer) hath pardoned him, at the request of some of his friends, works be required of him that he henceforth keep the king's laws, if he will continue in his grace's favour, in which he now standeth, yet the benefit of his life proceedeth not of the deserving of the works that follow, but of the king's goodness, and favour of his friends; yea, and that benefit and gift of his life deserve the works that follow. Though the father chastise the child, yet is the child no less bound to obey, and to do the will of the father. If when the father pardoneth it, the works that follow deserve that favour, then must the works that followed the correction have deserved favour also; and then was the father unrighteous to chastise it. All whatsoever thou art able to do, to please God withal, is thy duty to do, though thou hadst never sinned. If it be thy duty, how can it

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then be the deserving of the mercy and grace that went before? Now, that mercy was the benefit of God, thy father, through the deserving of the Lord Christ, which hath bought thee with the price of his blood.

And again, when he saith that he purposeth to bestow his goods, to be accepted as fruits of faith, it is evident that he meaneth that living faith which professeth the law of God, and is the mother of all good works, yea, and nurse thereto.

Another cavillation which they might make in the second part, where he admitteth no other mediator but Christ only, nor will give of his goods, to bind any man to any feigned observance for the help of his soul, when he were whole in the kingdom of Christ, clean delivered, both body and soul, from the dominion of Satan (as the scripture testifieth all that die in Christ to be), is this, they will say, that he held that none should pray for him save Christ, and that we be not bound to pray one for another, nor ought to desire the prayers of another man; that he excludeth, in that he saith all others be but petitioners. By which words he plainly confesseth that other may and ought for to pray, and that we may and ought to desire other to pray for us; but meaneth that we may not put our trust and confidence in their prayer, as though they gave of themselves that which they desire for us in their petitions, and so give them the thanks, and ascribe to their merits that which is given us in the name of our master Christ, as the deservings of his blood. Christ is my Lord, and hath deserved and also obtained power, to give me all that can be desired for me; and all that other desire for me, this is desired in Christ's name, and given at the merits of his blood. All the honour, then, trust, confidence, and thanks, pertain to him also. Some will haply say, How should I desire another to pray for me, and not trust to his prayer? Verily even as I desire my neighbour to help me at my need, and yet trust not

The prayers of the faithful for his brother taking effect, thanks therefore must wholly be attributed to the giver.

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All our help is from above, for man cannot help but when God prepareth his heart.

to him. Christ has commanded us to love each other. Now when I go or desire help, I put my trust in God, and complain to God first, and say, Lo, Father! I go to my brother, to ask help in thy name; prepare the heart of him against I come, that he may pity me and help me, for thy sake, &c. Now if my brother remember his duty and help me, I received it of God, and give God the thanks, which moved the heart of my brother, and gave my brother a courage to help me, and wherewith to do it, and so hath helped me by my brother. And I love my brother again, and say, Lo, Father! I went to my brother in thy name, and he hath helped me, for thy sake: wherefore, O Father! be thou as merciful to him at his need, as he hath been to me, for thy sake, at my need. Lo! now as my brother did his duty when he helped me, so do I my duty when I pray for him again: and as I might not have put my trust and confidence in my brother's help, so may he not in my prayers. I am sure that God will help me by his promise; but am not sure that my brother will help me, though it be his duty; so am I sure that God will hear me, whatsoever I ask in Christ's name, by his promise; but am not sure that my brother will pray for me, or that he hath a good heart to God.

No. But the saints in heaven cannot but pray and be heard; no more can the saints in earth but pray and be heard neither. Moses, Samuel, David, Noah, Elias, Eliezer, Esaias, Daniel, and all the prophets, prayed and were heard; yet were none of those wicked, that would not put their trust in God, according to their doctrine and preaching, partakers of their prayers in the end. And as damnable as it is for the poor to trust in the riches of the richest upon earth, so damnable is it also to leave the covenant made in Christ's blood, and to trust in the saint of heaven. They that be in heaven know the elect, that trust in Christ's blood, and profess the law of God, and for them only pray; and

Praying to saints is damnable.

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these wicked idolaters, which have no trust in the covenant of God, nor serve God in the spirit, nor in the gospel of Christ's blood, but after their blind imagination, choosing them every man a sundry saint to be their mediator, to trust to and to be saved by their merits, do the saints abhor and defy. And their prayers and offerings are to the saints as acceptable and pleasant, as was the prayer and the offering of Simon Magus to Peter. (Acts viii.)

Saints abhor them that pray unto them.

Moreover, the saints in their most cumbrance are most comforted and most able to comfort other, as Paul testifieth 1 Cor. i.; insomuch that St. Stephen and St. James prayed for them that slew them. St. Martin preached and comforted his desperate brethren even unto the last breath; and likewise (as stories make mention,) did innumerable more. Yea, and I have known of simple, unlearned persons, and that of some that were great sinners, which, at the hour of death, have fallen flat on the blood of Christ, and given no room to other men's either prayers or preachings; but have as strongly trusted in Christ's blood as ever did Peter or Paul, and have thereto preached it to others, and exhorted others so mightily, that an angel of heaven could not mend them. Who then should resist God, that he might not give the same grace to M. Tracy, which was a learned man, and better seen in the works of St. Austin twenty years before he died, than ever I knew Doctor in England; but that he must then faint and shrink, when most need is to be strong, and fear the Pope's purgatory, and trust to the prayer of priests dearly paid for? I dare say that he prayed for the priests when he died, that God would convert a great many of them; and if he had known of any good man among them that had needed, he would have given; and if he had known of any lack of priests, he would have given to maintain more. But now, since there be more than enough, and have more than every

M. Tracy studious in St. Austin.

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man a sufficient living, how should he have given them but to hire their prayers of pure mistrust in Christ's blood? If robbing of widows' houses under pretence of long prayers be damnable, (Matt. xxiii.) then is it damnable also for widows to suffer themselves to be robbed by the long pattering of hypocrites, through mistrust in Christ's blood. Yea and is it not damnable to maintain such abomination? Now when this damnation is spread over all, how can we give them that have enough already? or how can they that have enough already take more under the name of praying, and not harden the people more in this damnable damnation.

And concerning the burying of his body, he allegeth St. Austin; neither is there any man (think I) so mad to affirm that the outward pomp of the body should help the soul. Moreover, what greater sign of infidelity is there, than to care at the time of death with what pomp the carcass shall be carried to the grave? He denieth not but that a Christian man should be honourably buried, namely, for the honour and hope of the resurrection; and therefore committed that care to his dear executors, his son and his wife, which he wist would in that part do sufficient, and leave nothing of the use of the country undone, but the abuse.

Burials must be celebrated honourably for the hope of our resurrection.

And that bestowing of a great part of his goods (while he yet lived) upon the poor, to be thankful for the mercy received, without buying and selling with God; that is, without binding those poor unto any other appointed prayers than God hath bound us already, one to pray for another, one to help another, as he hath helped us; but patiently abiding for the blessings that God hath appointed unto all manner of good works, trusting faithfully to his promise, thanking (as ye may see by his words) the blood of Christ for the reward promised to his works, and not the goodness of the works, as though he had done more than his duty, or all that: and assigned, by writing, unto whom an-

One must pray for another, and one help another.

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other part should be distributed, and giving the rest to his executors, that no strife should be; which executors were by right the heirs of all that was left to them. These things, I say, are signs evident, not only of a good Christian man, but also of a perfect Christian man, and of such a one as needed not to be aghast and desperate for fear of the painful pains of purgatory, which, whoso feareth as they feign it, cannot but utterly abhor death; saying that Christ is there no longer thy Lord, after he hath brought thee thither, but art excluded from his satisfaction, and must satisfy for thyself alone, and that with suffering pain only, or else tarrying the satisfying of them that shall never satisfy enough for themselves, or gaping for the Pope's pardons, which have so great doubts and dangers, what in the mind and intent of the granter, and what in the purchaser, ere they can be truly obtained with all due circumstances, and much less certitude that they have any authority at all. Paul thirsted to be dissolved and to be with Christ; Stephen desired Christ to take his spirit; the prophets also desired God to take their souls from them; and all the saints went with a lusty courage to death, neither fearing or teaching us to fear any such cruelty. Where hath the Church then gotten authority to bind us from being so perfect, from having any such faith in the goodness of God our Father, and Lord Christ, and to make such perfectness and faith of all heresies the greatest?

A true Christian feareth not the Pope's purgatory.

Solomon saith in the xxxth of his Proverbs, Three things are insatiable, and the fourth saith never, It is enough. But there is a fifth, called Dame Avarice, with as greedy a gut, as melting a maw, as wide a throat, as gaping a mouth, and with as ravening teeth, as the best, which the more she eateth the hungryer she is: an unquiet evil, never at rest; a blind monster and a surmising beast, fearing at the fall of every leaf. *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames?* What doth not that holy hunger compel them that love

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this world inordinately to commit? Might that devil's belly be once full, truth should have audience, and words be construed aright, and taken in the same sense as they be meant.

Though it seem not impossible haply that there might be a place where the souls might be kept for a space, to be taught and instructed; yet that there should be such a jail as they jangle, and such fashions as they feign, is plainly impossible, and repugnant to the scripture; for when a man is translated utterly out of the kingdom of Satan, and so confirmed in grace that he cannot sin, so burning in love that his lust cannot be plucked from God's will, and being partaker with us of all the promises of God, and under the commandments; what could be denied him in that deep innocency of his most kind Father, that hath left no mercy unpromised, and asking it thereto in the name of his Son Jesus, the child of his heart's lust, which is our Lord, and hath left no mercy undeserved for us, namely, when God hath sworn that he will put off righteousness, and be to us a Father, and that of all mercy, and hath slain his most dear son Jesus, to confirm his oath.

God granteth all things to the faithful.

Finally, seeing that Christ's love taketh all to the best, and nothing is here that may not be well understood (the circumstances declaring in what sense all was meant), they ought to have interpreted it charitably, if aught had been found doubtful or seeming to sound amiss. Moreover, if any thing had been therein that could not have been taken well, yet their part had been to have interpreted it as spoken of idleness of the head, by the reason of sickness, forasmuch as the man was virtuous, wise, and well learned, and of good fame and report, and sound in the faith while he was alive. But if they say he was suspect when he was alive, then is their doing so much the worse, and to be thought that they feared his doctrine when he was alive, and mistrusted their own part, their consciences testifying to

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them that he held no other doctrine than that was true, seeing they then neither spake nor wrote against him, nor brought him to any examination. Besides that, some merry fellows will think, that they ought first to have sent to him, to wit, whether he would have revoked, ere they had so despitefully burned the dead body, that could not answer for itself, nor interpret his words, how he meant them, namely, the man being of so worshipful and ancient a blood. But here will I make an end, desiring the reader to look on this thing with indifferent eyes, and judge whether I have expounded the words of this Testament as they should seem to signify or not; judge also whether the maker thereof seem not by his work both virtuous and godly, which if it so be, think not that he was the worse, because the dead body was burnt to ashes, but rather learn to know the great desire that hypocrites have to find one craft or other to dash the truth with, and cause it to be counted for heresy of the simple and unlearned people, which are so ignorant they cannot spy their subtlety. It must needs be heresy that toucheth any thing their rotten bile, they will have it so whosoever say nay: only the eternal God must be prayed to night and day, to amend them in whose power it only lieth, who also grant them once earnestly to thirst his true doctrine contained in the sweet and pure fountains of his Scriptures, and in his paths to direct their ways. Amen.

Papists burn both quick and dead if they touch their rotten sores.

The end of all M. William Tyndale's Works, newly imprinted, according to his first copies, which he himself set forth. God's name be blessed for ever. Amen.

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Here followeth a short and pithy treatise touching the Lord's Supper, compiled, as some do gather, by M. William Tyndale, because the method and phrase agree with his, and the time of writing are concurrent, which for thy further instruction and learning, gentle reader, I have annexed to his works, lest the Church of God should want any of the painful travels of that godly man, whose only care and endeavour was to advance the glory of God, and to further the salvation of Christ's flock committed to their charge.

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THE

SUPPER OF THE LORD.

AFTER THE TRUE MEANING OF THE VI. OF JOHN AND THE XI. OF THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS. AND INCIDENTLY IN THE EXPOSITION OF THE SUPPER IS CONFUTED THE LETTER OF MASTER MORE AGAINST JOHN FRITH.

Anno 1533, the 5th day of April.

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THE SUPPER OF THE LORD.

AFTER THE TRUE MEANING OF THE VI. OF JOHN AND THE XI. OF THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS. AND INCIDENTLY IN THE EXPOSITION OF THE SUPPER IS CONFUTED THE LETTER OF MASTER MORE AGAINST JOHN FRITH.

WHEN Christ saw those gluttons seeking their bellies flocking so fast unto him, after his wonted manner, (the occasion taken to teach and preach unto them of the things now moved,) he said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye seek me not because ye have seen my miracles, but because ye have eaten of the loaves and were well filled. But as for me, I am not come into this world only to fill men's bellies, but to feed and satisfy their souls. Ye take great pains to follow me for the meat of your bellies; but oh, sluggards, work, take pains, and labour rather to get that meat that shall never perish. For this meat that ye have sought of me hitherto, perisheth with your bellies; but the meat that I shall give you, is spiritual, and may not perish, but abideth for ever, giving life everlasting. For my Father hath consigned and confirmed me with his assured testimony, to be that assured saving health and earnest-penny of everlasting life. When the Jews understood not what Christ meant, bidding them to work and labour for that meat that should never perish, they asked him, What shall we do, that we might work the works of God? supposing that he had spoken of some outward work required of them. Wherefore Jesus answered, saying, Even this is the work of God, to believe and trust in him whom

John vi.

The Jews were blind and ignorant, and understood not the words of Christ.

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The true work that is acceptable before God.

the Father hath sent. Lo, here may ye see that work of God which he requireth of us, even to believe in Christ. Also consider again what this meat is, which he bade them here prepare and seek for, saying, Work, take pains and seek for that meat, &c. and thou shalt see it none other meat than the belief in Christ: wherefore he concludeth, that this meat so often mentioned, is faith: of the which meat (saith the Prophet) the just liveth. Faith in him is therefore the meat which Christ prepareth and dresseth so purely; pouldering and spicing it with spiritual allegories in all this chapter following, to give us everlasting life through it.

Habak. ii.

The Jews desire a sign or token whereby they might believe that he was Christ.

Then said the Jews unto him, What token doest thou whereby we might know that we should believe in thee? Do somewhat that we might believe in thee: what thing workest thou that we might know thee to be God? Thou knowest well enough that our fathers did eat bread or manna in the desert, as it is written, He gave them bread from above. Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave ye not that bread from heaven; for though it fell down from the air, yet was it not heavenly food, for it did but feed the belly; but this bread of God that is descended from heaven (whom my Father giveth,) refresheth the soul so abundantly, that it giveth life unto the world. When the Jews understood not this saying, which was nought else than the declaring of the Gospel (for by the eating of this bread, he meant that belief of this his Gospel,) they said, Sir, give us this bread evermore. Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life, and whoso cometh to me shall not hunger; and whoso believeth in me shall never thirst. When the Jews heard Christ say, the bread that descended from heaven should give life to the world; they desired to have this bread given them for ever. And Jesus perceiving that they understood not the sense of this Gospel, he expounded unto them who was this so lively bread that giveth life to all the

Christ required of the Jews to have faith and trust him.

Christ explaineth and showeth himself to the Jews.

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world, saying, I am the bread of life, and whoso cometh to me, that is to say, whoso is grafted and joined to me by faith, shall never hunger, that is, whoso believeth in me is satisfied. It is faith, therefore, that stauncheth this hunger and thirst of the soul. Faith it is, therefore, in Christ that filleth our hungry hearts, so that we can desire none other, if we once eat and drink him by faith, that is to say, if we believe his flesh and body to have been broken and his blood shed for our sins. For then are our souls satisfied and we be justified.

Faith only apprehendeth Christ and all his benefits.

Over this, it followeth: But I have told you this, because ye look upon me, and believe me not, that is, ye be offended that I said, he that cometh to me shall neither hunger nor thirst, seeing that yourselves being present, be yet both hungry and thirsty. But this cometh because ye have seen me with your bodily eyes, and yet see me and believe not in me: but I speak not of such sight nor coming, but of the sight of faith, which whoso hath, he shall have none other desire; he shall not seek by night to love another before whom he would lay his grief. He shall not run wandering here and there to seek dead stocks and stones; for he is certified by his faith to whom he shall cleave; he is coupled by faith unto me his very spouse and lively food, the only treasure of his soul, never more to thirst for any other. This light of faith ye have not, for ye believe not nor trust in me: wherefore ye understand not how I am the very bread and meat of your souls, that is to say, your faith and hope. And the cause of this your blindness is, (I will not say over hardly to you,) that the father hath not drawn you into the knowledge of me, or else ye had received me. For all that the father giveth me, must come unto me. And as for me, I cast out no man that cometh to me; for I am not come down from heaven to do my will, which ye attribute unto me, as unto each any other man, for I am verily a very man; and according to that nature, I have a special

Christ rebuketh the incredulity and lack of faith in the Jews.

All that the father draw come unto Christ.

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proper will; but much more obedient to my father, than one of you. For your will oft resisteth and repugneth God's will, but so doth mine never. I am therefore come down to do his will that hath sent me. And to do you to wit what his will is. This (I say) is my father's will that hath sent me, that of all that he hath given me I lose none; but must raise him up again in the last day: and to be plain, this is the will of him that sent me, that whoso seeth (that is to know) the son and believeth in him, he shall have life everlasting, and I shall stir him up in the last day. Here may ye see what meat he speaketh of. God sent his son into this world, that ye might live through him. Who liveth by him? They that eat his flesh and drink his blood. Who eat his flesh and drink his blood? They that believe his body crucified and his blood shed for their sins: these cleave unto his gracious favour. But how could they cleave thus unto him except they knew him? And therefore he added, saying, Every man that seeth the son, that is to say, understandeth wherefore the son was sent into this world, and believeth in him, shall have everlasting life.

Christ came from heaven into earth to fulfil the will of his father.

He that believeth Christ's death to be for the remission of his sins, the same eateth the flesh and drinketh the blood of Christ.

The cause of the Jews' murmuring.

Here it appeared to the carnal Jews, that Christ had taken too much upon himself to say, I am the bread of life, which am come down from heaven to give life to the world; wherefore the flesh, that is to say the Jews, now murmured and not marvelled, (as M. More showeth his own dream to another text following, which I shall touch anon,) they murmured at this saying of Christ, I am the bread which am come from heaven, saying, Is not this Joseph's son whose father and mother we know well enough? How then saith he, I am come from heaven? Jesus answered, saying, Murmur not among yourselves: heard ye not what I told you even now? All that my father giveth me come to me: your unbelief (whereof followeth this false understanding of my words spiritually spoken,) compelleth me to tell you one thing

Christ reproveth the murmuring of the Jews.

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more than once or twice. This therefore it is: No man may come to me, the only earnest-penny and pledge of your salvation, unless my father that sent me draw him; and whom he draweth unto me, that is joineth unto me by faith, him shall I stir up in the last day. I wonder that ye take my words so strangely, believing them to be some hard riddles, or dark parables, when I say nothing else, than that is written in your own prophets, both in Isaiah and Jeremiah, saying, that all shall be taught of the Lord. Since even your prophets testify this knowledge to be given you of my father, what can be spoken more plainly than to say, what my father giveth me, that cometh to me: or this, no man may come to me, except my father draw him. And yet have it more manifestly: Whoso hath heard my father, and is learned of him, he cometh to me as unto the very only anchor of his salvation. Not that any man hath seen the father, lest peradventure ye mistake these words to hear and to learn, as though they pertained to the outward senses, and not rather to the mind and inward illumining of the soul. For no man ever saw the father, although he work secretly upon his heart, so that whatsoever he willeth, we must hear and learn. No man (I say) seeth him, but he that is sent of God, as I said before of myself, he it is that seeth the father. Now therefore say I unto you, Verily, verily, as plainly, that whoso believeth and trusteth in me, he hath life everlasting. Now have ye the sum of this my doctrine, even my very gospel, the whole tale of all my legacy and message wherefore I am sent into this world. Had M. More understood this short sentence (whoso believeth in me hath life everlasting,) and known what Paul with the other Apostles preached, especially Paul, being a year and a half among the Corinthians, determining not, neither presuming to have known any other thing to be preached them (as himself saith,) than Jesus Christ, and that he was crucified; had M. More understood this point,

Isaiah liv. Jer. xxxi.

John vi.

All that believe and hope in Christ have everlasting life.

M. More had not the understanding of the scriptures. 1 Cor. ii.

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he should never have thus blasphemed Christ and his sufficient scriptures, neither have so belied his Evangelists and holy Apostles, as to say, they wrote not all things necessary for our salvation, but left out things of necessity to be believed, making God's holy testament insufficient and imperfect. First revealed unto our fathers, written often since by Moses, and then by his Prophets, and at last written both by his holy Evangelists and Apostles too.

More is a mocker.

But turn we to John again, and let More mock still, and lie too. I am the bread of life, saith Christ. And no man denieth that our fathers and elders did eat manna in the desert, and yet are they dead. But he that eateth of this bread, that is to say, believeth in me, he hath life everlasting. For it is I that am this lively bread, which am come from heaven, of whom whoso eat by faith, shall never die. Here therefore it is to be noted diligently, that Christ meaneth, as every man may see, by the eating of this bread none other thing than the belief in himself offered up for our sins, which faith only justifieth us, which sentence to declare more plainly, and that he would have it noted more diligently, he repeateth it yet again, saying, It is I that am the lively bread which am come down from heaven; whoso eateth of this bread shall live everlastingly. And to put you clear out of doubt, I shall show you in few words what this matter is, and by what ways I must be the Saviour and Redeemer of the world, to give it this life so often rehearsed, and therefore now take good heed. This bread which I speak of so much, and shall give it you; it is mine own flesh, which I must lay forth and pay for the life of the world. Here it is now manifest that he should suffer death in his own flesh for our redemption, to give us this life everlasting. Thus now may ye see how Christ's flesh, which he called bread, is the spiritual food and meat of our souls, when our souls by faith see God the Father not to have spared his only so dear

The eating of the bread of Christ is only to believe in Christ's death.

How the bread signifieth and showeth Christ's flesh.

Christ's flesh is the spiritual food of our souls.

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beloved Son, but to have delivered him to suffer that ignominious and so painful death, to restore us to life; then have we eaten his flesh, and drank his blood, assured firmly of the favour of God, satisfied and certified of our salvation.

After this communication that he said, The bread which I shall give you is my flesh, which I shall pay for the life of the world; yet were the carnal Jews never the wiser; for their belief and sturdy hatred would not suffer the very spiritual sense and mind of Christ's words to enter into their hearts. They could not see that Christ's flesh broken and crucified, and not bodily eaten, should be our salvation, and this spiritual meat, as our souls to be fed and certified of the mercy of God, and forgiveness of our sins through his passion, and not for any eating of his flesh with our teeth. The more ignorant, therefore, and fleshly they were, the more fierce were they full of indignation, striving one against another, saying, How may this fellow give us his flesh to eat it? They stuck fast yet in his flesh before their eyes, those fleshy Jews, wherefore no marvel though they abhorred the bodily eating thereof, although our fleshly Papists (being of the Jews' carnal opinion,) yet abhor it not, neither cease they daily to crucify and offer him up again, which was once for ever and all offered, as Paul testifieth. And even here, since Christ came to teach, to take away all doubt, and to break strife, he might (his words otherwise declared, than he hath and will hereafter expound them,) have solved their question, saying, if he had so meant (as More meaneth,) that he would have been conveyed and converted (as our jugglers slightly can convey him with a few words,) into a singing loaf, or else (as the Thomistical Papists say,) been invisible with all his dimensioned body under the form of bread transubstantiated into it. And after a like Thomistical mystery, the wine transubstantiated too into his blood, so that they should eat his flesh and

The obstinate and wilful blindness of the Jews.

The malice of the Jews toward our Saviour Christ.

The carnal Papists cease not still to offer him. Heb. x.

Thomists be the school doctors.

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drink his blood after their own carnal understanding, but yet in another form, to put away all grudge of stomach. Or since St. John (if he had understood his Master's mind, and took upon him to write his words,) would leave this sermon unto the world to be read, he might now have delivered us and them from this doubt. But Christ would not so satisfy their question, but answered, Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall not have that life in yourselves. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting; and I shall stir him up in the last day, for my flesh is very meat and my blood the very drink. He saith not here that bread shall be transubstantiated or converted into his body, nor yet the wine into his blood. But now confer this saying to his purpose at the beginning, where he bade them work for that meat that should never perish, telling them that to believe in him whom God had sent, was the work of God. And whoso believeth in him, should never thirst nor hunger, but have life everlasting. Confer also this that followeth, and thou shalt see it plain, that his words be understood spiritually of the belief in his flesh crucified, and his blood shed, for which belief we be promised everlasting life, himself saying, "Whoso believeth in me hath life everlasting." Here, therefore, their question (how may this man give us his flesh to eat it,) is solved; even when he gave his body to be broken, and his blood to be shed. And we eat and drink it indeed, when we believe steadfastly that he died for the remission of our sins.—Austin and Tertullian to witness.

Christ in saying that his flesh is very meat, doth not say that bread shall be transubstantiated into his flesh.

Christ's words are spiritual and not carnal.

But here maketh More his argument against the young man. Because the Jews marvelled at this saying, My flesh is very meat, and my blood drink; and not at this, I am the door, and the very vine: therefore this text, (saith he) My flesh is, &c. must be understood after the literal sense, that is, to wit, even as the carnal

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Jews understood it, murmuring at it, being offended, going their ways from Christ, for their so carnal understanding thereof. And the other texts, I am the door, &c. must be understood in an allegorical and spiritual sense, because his hearers marvelled nothing at the manner of the speech. Lo! Christian reader, here hast thou not a taste, but a great tun full of More's mischief and pernicious perverting of God's holy word; and as thou seest him here falsely and pestilently destroy the pure sense of God's word, so doth he in all other places of his books. First, where he saith they marvelled at this Christ's saying, "My flesh is very meat," &c. that is not so, neither is there any such word in the text, except More will expound *Murmurabant, id est, mirabantur*, They murmured, that is to say, they marvelled, as he expoundeth. *Oportet, id est, expedit et convenit*, He must die, or it behoveth him to die; that is to say, it was expedient and of good congruence that he should die, &c. Thus this poet may make a man to signify an ass, and black white, to blear the simple eyes. But yet for his lordly pleasure, let us grant him that, they murmured, is as much to say as they marvelled, because perchance the one may follow at the other. And then do I ask him, whether Christ's disciples and his apostles heard him not, and understood him not, when he said, I am the door and the vine, and when he said, My flesh, &c. If he say no, or nay, the Scripture is plain against him. If he say yea, or yes, then yet do I ask him whether his disciples and apostles, thus hearing and understanding his words in all these three chapters, wondered and marvelled, (as More saith,) or murmured, (as hath the text,) at their Master's speech. What think ye? More must answer here. Here may ye see whither this old holy upholder of the Pope's church is brought, even to be taken in his own trap. For the disciples and his apostles neither murmured, nor marvelled, nor yet were offended with this their

More declareth his ignorance and wilful blindness.

More reporteth the Scriptures untruly.

More's first reason is confuted.

John vi. x. xv.

Christ disciples murmured not at his saying.

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Master Christ's words, and manner of speech, for they were well acquainted with such phrases, and answered their Master Christ, when he asked them, Will ye also go hence from me? Lord, said they, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of everlasting life, and we believe that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. Lo! M. More, they neither marvelled nor murmured. And why? For because as ye say, they understood it in an allegorical sense, and perceived well that he meant not of his material body to be eaten with their teeth, but he meant it of himself to be believed, to be very God and very man having flesh and blood as they had, and yet was he the Son of the living God. This belief gathered they of all his spiritual sayings, as himself expounded his own words, saying, My flesh profiteth nothing, meaning to be eaten; but it is the spirit that giveth this life. And the words that I speak unto you are spirit and life, so that whoso believe my flesh to be crucified and broken, and my blood to be shed for his sins, he eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, and hath life everlasting. And this is the life wherewith the righteous live, even by faith.

Christ's words were in all things to be spiritually understood.

Habak. ii.

THE SECOND ARGUMENT OF MORE.

AFTER this text thus wisely proved to be understood in the literal sense, with carnal Jews, and not in the allegoric or spiritual sense with Christ and his Apostles: the whole sum of More's confutation of the young man standeth upon this argument. *A posse ad esse.* That is, to wit, God may do it, *ergo*, it is done. Christ may make his body in many, or in all places at once, *ergo*, it is in many or in all places at once. Which manner

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of argumentation, how false and naught it is, every sophister, and every man that hath wit, perceiveth. A like argument. God may shew More the truth and call him to repentance, as he did Paul for persecuting his church: *ergo*, More is converted to God. Or, God may let him run of an obdurate heart with Pharaoh, and at last take an open and sudden vengeance upon him for persecuting his word, and burning his poor members: *ergo*, it is done already. M. More must first prove it us by express words of holy scripture, and not by his own unwritten dreams, that Christ's body is in many places, or in all places at once: and then, though our reason cannot reach it, yet our faith measured and directed with the word of faith, will both reach it, receive it, and hold it fast too; not because it is possible to God, and impossible to reason; but because the written word of our faith saith it. But when we read God's words in more than twenty places contrary, that his body should be here, More must give us leave to believe his unwritten vanities (verities I should say) at leisure. Here mayest thou see, Christian reader, wherefore More would so feign make thee believe, that the apostles left out certain things unwritten, of necessity to be believed, even to establish the Pope's kingdom, which standeth of More's unwritten vanities. As of the presence of Christ's body, and making thereof in the bread. Of purgatory, of invocation of saints, worshipping of stones and stocks, pilgrimages, hallowing of boughs and bells, and creeping to the crosse, &c. If ye will believe whatsoever More can feign without the Scripture, then can this poet feign you another church than Christ's, and that ye must believe it whatsoever it teacheth you, for he hath feigned to that, it cannot err, though ye see it err and fight against itself a thousand times. Yea, if it tell you black is white, good is bad, and the devil is *God*; yet must ye believe it, or else be burned as heretics. But let us return to our purpose.

The confutation of his second argument.

Christ in that he is God may do all things that he will, but yet he will not falsify his holy Scriptures.

More is a great setterforth of unwritten heresies.

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Although the Pope dare not take upon him to be God, yet he is contented to be named and taken for half a God.

To dispute of God's almighty absolute power, what God may do with his body, it is great folly and no less presumption to More, since the Pope, which is no whole God, but half a God, by their own decrees have decreed, no man to dispute of his power. But, Christian reader, be thou content to know that God's will, his word, and his power, be all one and repugn not. And neither willeth he; nor may not do any thing including repugnance, imperfection, or that should derogate, minish, or hurt his glory, and his name. The glory of his Godhead is to be present, and to fill all places at once essentially presently with his almighty power, which glory is denied to any other creature, himself saying by his prophet, I will not give my glory to any other creature. Now, therefore, since his manhood is a creature, it cannot have this glory only which is appropriated to the Godhead. To attribute to his manhood that property which only is appropriated to his Godhead, is to confound both the natures of Christ. What thing soever is everywhere after the said manner, that must needs be infinite, without beginning and end, it must be one alone, and almighty; which properties only are appropriated unto the glorious majesty of the Godhead. Wherefore Christ's body may not be in all or in many places at once. Christ himself saying, as concerning his manhood, he is less than the Father, but as touching his Godhead, the Father and I be both one thing. And Paul reciting the Psalm, affirmeth Christ, as concerning his manhood, to be less than God, or less than angels, as some text hath it. Here it is plain that all things that More imagineth and feigneth, are not possible to God, for it is not possible for God to make a creature equal unto himself, for it includeth repugnance and derogateth his glory. God promised and swore that all nations should be blessed in the death of that promised seed, which was Christ. God had determined and decreed it before the world was made: *ergo*, Christ

Isaiah xlii.

Christ as touching his manhood, occupieth at one time but one place, but his Godhead is in all places at once.

John xiv.
John x.
Heb. xi.

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must needs have died, and not to expound this word *oportet*, as More minceth it. For it was so necessary that the contrary was impossible, except More would make God a liar, which is impossible. Paul concludeth that Christ must needs have died, using this Latin term, *necesse*. Saying, wheresoever is a testament, there must be the death of the testament-maker go between; or else the testament is not ratified and sure: but righteousness and remission of sins in Christ's blood is his new testament, whereof he is mediator: *ergo*, the testament-maker must needs have died. Wrest not, therefore (M. More) this word *oportet* (though ye find *potest* for *oportet* in some corrupt copy) unto your unsavoury sense. But let *oportet* signify, he must or it behoveth him to die. For he took our very mortal nature for the same decreed council; himself saying, *Oportet exaltari filium hominis, &c.* It behoveth, that the son of man must die, that every one that believeth in him perish not, &c. Here may ye see also that it is impossible for God to break his promise. It is impossible to God, which is that verity, to be found contrary in his deeds and words: as to save them whom he hath damned, or to damn them whom he hath saved: wherefore all things imagined of M. More's brain are not possible to God.

Heb. ix.

Christ must needs die, for God had so promised before.

John ii. and xii.

God may not be found a liar.

And when More saith, that Christ had power to let his life and to take it again, and therefore not to have died of necessity; I wonder me, that his schoolmaster here failed him, so cunning as he maketh himself therein; which granteth and affirmeth (as true it is) that with the necessary decreed works of God's foresight and providence standeth right well his free liberty. But M. More saith at last, If God would tell me that he would make each of both their bodies two, (meaning the young man's body and his,) to be in fifteen places at once, I would believe him, that he were able to make his words true in the bodies of both twain; and never would I so

More would have believed Christ if he had talked with him, whatsoever he had said to him.

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much as ask him whether he would glorify them both first or not: but I am sure, glorified or unglorified, if he said it, he is able to do it. Lo! here may ye see what a fervent faith this old man hath, and what an earnest mind to believe Christ's words, if he had told him. But, I pray you, M. More, what and if Christ never told it you, nor said it, nor never would; would ye not be as hasty not to believe it? If he told it you, I pray you tell us where you spake with him, and who was by to bear ye record; and if you bring as false a shrew as yourself to testify this thing, yet, by your own doctrine, must ye make us a miracle to confirm your tale, ere we be bound to believe you; or yet, to admit this your argument, God may make his body in many places at once, *ergo*, it is so. Sir, ye be too busy with God's almighty power, and have taken too great a burthen upon your weak shoulders; ye have overladen yourself with your own harness and weapons; and young David is likely to prevail against you with his sling and stone. God hath infatuated your high subtle wisdom. Your crafty conveyance is spied. God hath sent your Church a mete cover for such a cup, even such a defender as ye take upon yourself to be, that shall let all their whole cause fall flat in the mire, unto both your shames and utter confusion. God, therefore, be praised ever. Amen.

God's almighty power is not to be busily dealt withal.

Then, saith M. More, though it seemeth repugnant both to him and to me, one body to be in two places at once; yet God seeth how to make them stand together well enough. This man, with his old eyes and spectacles, seeth far in God's sight, and is of his privy-council, that knoweth, belike, by some secret revelation, how God seeth one body to be in many places at once, including no repugnance. For word hath he none for him in all scripture, no more than one body to be in all places at once. It implieth, first, repugnance to my sight and reason, that all this world should be made of

More doth but scoff out the matter.

Matters of faith are repugnant to reason.

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nothing, and that a virgin should bring forth a child. But yet, when I see it written with the words of my faith, which God spake, and brought it so to pass; then implieth it no repugnance to me at all; for my faith reacheth it and receiveth it stedfastly. For I know the voice of my herdsman; which, if he said in any place of scripture that his body should have been contained under the form of bread, and so many places at once here in earth, and also abiding yet still in heaven too, verily I would have believed him, as soon and as firmly as M. More. And, therefore, even yet, if he can show us but one sentence truly taken for his part, as we can do many for the contrary, we must give place: for, as for his unwritten verities, and the authority of his antichrist's synagogue, unto which (the scripture forsaken) he is now at last, with shame enough, compelled to flee; they be proved stark lies and very devilry.

God's blessed will is declared in his Scriptures.

Then, saith he, that ye wot well that many good folk have used in this matter many good fruitful examples of God's other works; not only miracles, written in Scripture. *Unde versus?* (where one, I pray ye?) but also done by the common course of nature here in earth. If they be done by the common course of nature, so be they no miracles. And some things made also by man's hand; as one face beheld in divers glasses, and every piece of one glass broken into twenty, &c. Lord, how this pontifical poet playeth his part! Because (as he saith) we see many faces in many glasses, therefore may one body be in many places; as though every shadow and similitude, representing the body, were a bodily substance. But I ask More, when he seeth his own face in so many glasses, whether all those faces that appear in the glasses be his own very faces, having bodily substance, skin, flesh, and bone, as hath that face which hath his very mouth, nose, eyes, &c. wherewith he faceth us out the truth thus falsely with lies? And if they be all his very faces, then in very deed

More travaileth in his doctrine.

More's similitude of faces in the glass proveth no faces in substance.

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there is one body in many places, and he himself beareth as many faces in one body. But, according to his purpose, even as they be no very faces, nor those so many voices, sounds, and similitudes, multiplied in the air between the glasses or other object and the body (as the philosopher proveth by natural reason), be no very bodies; no more is it Christ's very body, as they would make thee believe, in the bread, in so many places at once. But the bread broken and eaten in the Supper monisheth and putteth us in remembrance of his death, and so exciteth us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise, for the benefit of our redemption; and thus we there have Christ present in the inward eye and sight of our faith. We eat his body and drink his blood; that is, we believe surely that his body was crucified for our sins, and his blood shed for our salvation.

By faith we must eat and drink Christ's body and blood spiritually.

At last note (Christian reader), that M. More in the third book of his confutation of Tyndale, the two hundred and forty-ninth side, to prove St. John's Gospel imperfect and insufficient (for leaving out of so necessary a point of our faith, as he calleth the last Supper of Christ his Maunday), saith, that John spake nothing at all of this Sacrament. And now, see again, in these his letters against Frith, how himself bringeth in John the sixth chapter, to impugn Frith's writing, and to make all for the Sacrament, even thus: My flesh is verily meat, and my blood drink. Belike the man had there over shot himself foul: the young man here causing him to put on his spectacles, and pore better and more wisely with his old eyes upon St. John's Gospel, to find that thing there now written, which before he would have made one of his unwritten veritics. As yet, if he look narrowly, he shall espy that himself hath proved us by scripture, in the thirty-seventh leaf of his dialogue of quoth he and quoth I, our lady's perpetual virginity, expounding *non cognosco*, *id est*, *non cognoscam*, which now written unwritten verity he numbereth a little be-

More writeth against himself.

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fore among his unwritten vanities. Thus may ye see how this old holy upholder of the Pope's church, his words fight against himself into his own confusion, in finding us forth his unwritten written vanities, verities I should say. But return we unto the exposition of St. John.

More an upholder of unwritten verities.

When the Jews would not understand the spiritual saying of the eating of Christ's flesh and drinking of his blood, so oft and so plainly declared; he gave them a strong stripe and made them more blind, for they so deserved it, (such are the secret judgments of God) adding unto all his sayings thus, Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him. These words were spoken unto these unbelievers into their farther obstination, but unto the faithful for their better instruction. Now gather of this the contrary, and say, Whoso eateth not my flesh and drinketh not my blood, abideth not in me, nor I in him, and join this to the foresaid sentence, Except ye eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Let it never fall from thy mind (Christian reader) that faith is the life of the righteous, and that Christ is this living bread whom thou eatest, that is to say, in whom thou believest. For if our Papists take eating and drinking here bodily, as to eat the natural body of Christ under the form of bread, and to drink his blood under the form of wine; then must all young children that never came to God's board departed, and all laymen that never drank his blood, be damned. By love we abide in God, and he in us; love followeth faith in the order of our understanding, and not in order of succession of time, if thou lookest upon the self gifts and not on their fruits. So that principally by faith, whereby we cleave to God's goodness and mercy, we abide in God, and God in us, as declare his words following, saying, As the living father sent me, so live I by my father. And even so he that eateth me shall live because of me, or

Habak. ii.

Faith is the life of the righteous.

1 John. iv.

By faith we eat and drink Christ, and so he abideth in us and we in him.

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for my sake. My father sent me, whose will in all things I obey, for I am his son. And even so verily must they that eat me, that is, believe in me, form and fashion them after my example, mortifying their flesh, changing their living; or else they eat me in vain, and dissemble their belief. For I am not come to redeem the world only, but also to change their life. They, therefore, that believe in me shall transform their life after my example and doctrine, and not after any man's traditions. This is the bread that came from heaven, as the effect itself declareth, whom whoso eateth shall live ever. But he that eateth bodily bread liveth not ever, as ye may see of your fathers that eat manna, and yet are they dead. It is not, therefore, any material bread nor bodily food that may give you life eternal.

Christian religion is faith, and a life correspondent.

These words did not only offend them that hated Christ, but also some of his disciples. They were offended (said the text) and not marvelled, as More trifleth out the truth, which said, This is an hard saying, who may hear this. These disciples yet stuck no less in Christ's visible flesh, and in the bark of his words, than did the other Jews, and as doth now More, believing him to have had spoken of his natural body, to be eaten with their teeth, which offence Christ seeing, said, Doth this offend you? what then will ye say, if ye see the son of man ascend thither where he was before? If it offend you to eat my flesh while I am here, it shall much more offend you to eat it when my body shall be gone out of your sight, ascended into heaven, there sitting on the right hand of my father until I come again, as I went, that is to judgment. Here might Christ have instructed his disciples in the truth of the eating of his flesh in form of bread, had this been his meaning. For he left them never in any perplexity or doubt; but sought all the ways by similitudes and familiar examples to teach them plainly. He never spake them so hard a parable, but where he perceived their feeble ignorance, anon he

The Jews and also the disciples of Christ were offended at his words.

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helped them and declared it them. Yea, and sometimes he prevented their asking with his own declaration, and think ye that he did not so here; yes, verily. For he came to teach us, and not to leave us in any doubt and ignorance, especially in the chief point of our salvation, which standeth in the belief in his death for our sins. Wherefore, to put them out of all doubt as concerning this eating of his flesh, and drinking of his blood, that should give everlasting life: where they took it for his very body to be eaten with their teeth, he said, It is the spirit that giveth this life, my flesh profiteth nothing at all, to be eaten as ye mean so carnally. It is spiritual meat that I here speak of. It is my spirit that draweth the hearts of men to me by faith, and so refresheth them ghostly. Ye be therefore carnal, to think that I speak of my flesh to be eaten bodily, for so it profiteth you nothing at all. How long will ye be without understanding? It is my spirit, I tell you, that giveth life. My flesh profiteth you nothing to eat it; but to believe that it shall be crucified and suffer for the redemption of the world, it profiteth. And when ye thus believe, then eat ye my flesh and drink my blood, that is, ye believe in me to suffer for your sins. The verity hath spoken these words. My flesh profiteth nothing at all; it cannot therefore be false. For both the Jews and his disciples murmured and disputed of his flesh how it should be eaten, and not of the offering thereof for our sins, as Christ meant. This, therefore, is the sure anchor to hold us by against all the objections of the Papists for the eating of Christ's body (as they say) in form of bread. Christ said, My flesh profiteth nothing; meaning to eat it bodily. This is the key that solveth all their arguments, and openeth the way to show us all their false and abominable blasphemous lies upon Christ's words, and uttereth their sly juggling over the bread to maintain Antichrist's kingdom therewith. And thus when Christ had declared it, and taught them that

Here Christ doth plainly show that it is the spiritual eating, and not the fleshly eating of his body that profiteth.

The eating of Christ's flesh profiteth nothing.

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it was not the bodily eating of his material body, but the eating with the spirit of faith, he added, saying, The words which I here speak unto you are spirit and life; that is to say, this matter that I here have spoken of with so many words, must be spiritually understood to give you this life everlasting; wherefore the cause why ye understand me not is, that ye believe not. Here is, lo! the conclusion of all this sermon. Christ, very God and man, had set his flesh before them to be received with faith, that it should be broken and suffer for their sins, but they could not eat it spiritually, because they believed not in him, wherefore many of his disciples fell from him, and walked no more with him. And then he said to the twelve, Will ye go away too? And Simon Peter answered, Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of everlasting life, and we believe and are sure that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. Here is it manifest what Peter and his fellows understood by this eating and drinking of Christ, for they were perfectly taught that it stood all in the belief in Christ, as their answer here testifieth. If this matter had stood upon so deep a miracle as our Papists feign, without any word of God, not comprehended under any of their common senses, that they should eat his body, being under the form of bread, as long, deep, thick, and as broad as it hanged upon the cross, they being yet but feeble of faith, not confirmed with the Holy Ghost, must here needs have wondered, stunned, and staggered, and have been more inquisitive in and of so strange a matter than they were. But they neither doubted, nor marvelled, nor murmured, nor were anything offended with this matter of speech, as were the other that slipped away; but they answered firmly, Thou hast the words of everlasting life, and we believe, &c. Now to the exposition of the words of our Lord's Supper.

The words of Christ were spirit and life.

Christ's disciples understood Christ to speak spiritually, and believed.

Among the holy Evangelists, writing the story of

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Christ's Supper, John, because the other three had written it at large, did but make a mention thereof in his thirteenth chapter, Matthew, Mark and Luke declaring it clearly, orderly, and with just number of words, with whom Paul agreeth, thus writing unto the Corinthians, Our Lord Jesus the same night he was betrayed, he took the bread, and after he had given thanks, he brake it, saying, Take ye it, eat it: this is my body which is for you broken. Here is now to be noted the order of this action or act. First, Christ took the bread in his hands; secondarily, he gave thanks; thirdly, he broke it, fourthly, he taught it them, saying, take it; fifthly, he bade them eat it. And last after all this he said, This is my body, which is for you broken: this thing do ye into the remembrance of me. Here ye see that this bread was first broken, delivered them, and they were commanded to eat it too, ere Christ said, This is my body. And for because it is to suppose verily, that they took it at his hand as he bade them, and did eat it too, when they had it in their hands, their Master (whose words they did ever obey,) commanding them; it must needs follow (if these be the words of the consecration,) that they were houseled with unconsecrated bread, or else now eaten, or at leastwise part of it, ere Christ consecrated it; yea it followeth that it was out of Christ's hands and in their mouths when Christ consecrated it, and so to have consecrated it when it was now in his disciples' hands, or in their mouths, or rather in their bellies.

Matt. xxvi. Matt. xxiv. Luke xxiv.

1 Cor. xi.

The order of the acts.

Here it is manifest that Christ consecrated no bread, but delivered it to his disciples, and bad them eat it. Insomuch that St. Thomas, their own doctor, that made their transubstantiation, confesseth that some there were that said that Christ did first consecrate with other words, ere he now reaching the bread to his disciples, said, This is my body, &c. and yet calleth he it no heresy so to say. Now since in all this act and Supper,

Christ consecrated no bread, but delivered it to his apostles to eat.

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there be no words of consecration, but of the delivering of the bread broken after thanksgiving with a commandment to eat it; bring us your words of consecration, and show us by what words God promised you, and gave you power to make his body. There is neither commandment, nor yet any words left in all the Scripture, to make or to consecrate Christ's body, to bring it into the bread. But there be the words of God left in the first chapter of Genesis, whereby he made all the world, with which words, albeit we yet have them, yet is it denied us to make that thing that he made with them. Now since we having his words of the creation, cannot yet make any new creature of nothing, how then shall we without any words of consecration and making, make the Maker of all things?

There is left unto us no words of consecration, whereby we should alter and change the nature of bread into his body.

Unto this action, or Supper, or deliverance of the bread, he added a reason and signification of this sign or Sacrament, and what also is the use thereof, as though any should ask them thereafter, what Sacrament, religion, or rite is this? They should answer even in a like manner of speech as it was commanded their fathers to make answer to their children, at the eating of the old Passover, whereof this new Passover was the verity, and that the figure, saying, When your children ask you what religion is this? ye shall answer them, It is the sacrifice of the passing by of the Lord, &c. Lo! here the lamb that signified, and did put them in remembrance of that passing by in Egypt, (the Israelites spared, and the Egyptians smitten,) was called in like phrase the self thing that it represented, signified, and did put them in remembrance of; none otherwise than if Christ's disciples, or any man else, seeing in that Supper the bread taken, thanks given, the bread broken, distributed, and eaten, should have asked him, What Sacrament or religion is this? He had to answer them that Christ said, This is my body, which is for you

The use of the Supper.

The paschal lamb.

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broken: this thing do ye in remembrance of me; that is to say, so oft as ye celebrate this Supper, give thanks to me for your redemption. In which answer he calleth the outward sensible sign or Sacrament, that is the bread with all the other action, even the same thing that it signifieth, representeth, and putteth such eaters of the Lord's Supper in remembrance of. For when he said, Which is broken for you, every one of them saw that then it was not his body that was there broken, but the bread, for as yet he had not suffered, but the bread broken was divided in pieces, every one of the twelve taking and eating a piece before he said, This is my body, &c.

The true meaning and signification of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.

Now since M. More will stick so fast in his literal sense upon these words, This is my body, &c. then do I ask him what thing he showeth us by this first word, and pronoun demonstrative, *hoc*, in English this. If ye show us the bread, so is the bread Christ's body, and Christ's body the bread, which saying in the literal sense, is an high heresy after them. And for this saying they burned the Lord Cobham. Also I ask whether Christ speaking these words, This is my body, &c. had then the bread in his hands, wherewith he houseled his disciples or no? That he had it not, but had now delivered it them, and had commanded them to eat it too, the order and words of the text plainly prove it, as is declared before. And St. Mark telleth the story also in this order. The cup taken in his hands, after he had given thanks, he gave it them, and they all drank thereof. And he said to them, This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many. Here it is manifest that they had all drunken thereof, first ere he said the words of consecration (if they be the words of any consecration). Besides this, if ye be so sworn to the literal sense in this matter, that ye will not in these words of Christ, This is my body, &c. admit in so plain

More's literal sense is lost.

Mark xiv.

The words of consecration were spoken after Christ had delivered the bread and the cup.

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a speech any trope, (for allegory there is none, if ye knew the proper difference of them both, which every grammarian can teach you,) then do I lay before your old eyes and spectacles too, Christ's words spoken of the cup both in Luke and Paul, saying, This cup is the New Testament through my blood which is shed for you. Here Christ calleth the wine in the cup the self cup, which every man knoweth is not the wine. Also he calleth the cup the New Testament, and yet was not the cup nor yet the wine contained therein the New Testament, and yet calleth it the New Testament, established and confirmed with his blood; here ye see he called not the cup his blood, but the Testament. Where is now your literal sense that ye would so feign frame for your Papists' pleasure? If ye will so sore stick to the letter, why do your faction leave here the plain letter, saying that the letter slayeth; going about the bush with this exposition and circumlocution, expounding "This is my body," that is to say, this is converted and turned into my body, and this bread is transubstantiated into my body. How far, lo! M. More, is this your strange Thomistical sense from the flat letter? If ye be so addicted to the letter, why fray ye the common people from the literal sense with this bug, telling them the letter slayeth? But there is neither letter nor spirit that may bridle nor hold your stiff-necked heads.

Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi.

How the Papists wrest the words of Scripture.

John iv.

Also ye shall understand that Christ rebuked the Jews for their literal sense, and carnal understanding of his spiritual words, saying, My flesh profiteth you nothing at all to eat it, &c. And their literal taking of his spiritual words was the cause of their murmur, &c. For even there (as also like in other places) to eat Christ's flesh, &c. after the common phrase of the Scripture, is not else than to believe that Christ suffered death, and shed his blood for us. Read ye Paul. Our fathers did all eat the same spiritual meat and drink the

1 Cor. x.

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same spiritual drink that we now eat and drink. Here I think M. More must leave his literal sense and material meat, or else deny Paul, and deny too, that our fathers did eat Christ and drink his blood, which all here Paul saith, for to eat and to drink this spiritual meat and drink, was, as himself declareth, to eat and drink Christ. They drank of the stone (saith Paul) that went with them, which stone was Christ. And we eat and drink the very same stone, which is nothing else than to believe in Christ. They believed in Christ to come, and we believe in him come, and to have suffered. Where is now, think ye, M. More's literal sense for the eating of Christ's material body? Our fathers were one and the same Church with us, under the same testament and promise, and even of the same faith in Christ. And even as they eat him and drank his blood, even the same spiritual meat and drink that we do eat and drink; so do we now in the same faith. For what else was signified by this manner of speech, Our fathers did eat and drink Christ, than that they believed in Christ to be incarnated and to suffer death? What else meant the poor woman of Canaan by eating, than to believe? When she answered Christ, saying, Ye say truth my Lord. But yet do the little whelps eat of the crumbs that fall from their master's table. This did she answer in an allegory according to Christ's first answer unto her, she meaning by the eating of the crumbs, the belief of his words and Gospel to be scattered among the Gentiles as Christ answering, confirmed her meaning, saying, O woman, great is thy faith. He said not, thou art a great eater and devourer of bread. Here it is plain, that to eat in the Scripture is taken to believe, as Christ himself expoundeth it, so often and so plenteously. And I am here compelled to inculcate and iterate it with so many words, to satisfy (if it were possible) this carnal flesh vowerer and fleshly Jew.

To eat Christ's flesh is to believe in him.

The manner of St. Paul's speaking.

Matt. xv.

An allegorical speech well allowed and used of Christ.

John vi.

Now to examine and to discuss this matter more

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The old Passover compared with the Supper of our Lord.

deeply and plainly, I shall compare the old Passover with the new and Supper of the Lord. And to show you how the figures correspond their verities, I will begin my comparison at baptism, comparing it with the Lord's Supper, which be the two Sacraments left us now under the grace of the Gospel. And afterwards (to set forth both these Sacraments plainly,) I will compare Circumcision with Baptism, and the paschal lamb with Christ's Supper.

Baptism compared with Circumcision.

1 Cor. x. xi. and xii. Rom. vi. Eph. iv.

We (by baptism) as we testified unto the congregation our entering into the body of Christ, (take here Christ's body, as doth Paul for his congregation,) to die, to be buried, and to rise with him, to mortify our flesh, and to be revived in spirit, to cast off the old man, and to do upon us the new: even so by the thanksgiving (for so did the old Greek doctors call this supper,) at God's board, or at the Lord's Supper, (for so doth Paul call it,) we testify the unity and communion of our hearts, glued unto the whole body of Christ in love: yea and that such love as Christ at this, his last Supper, expressed, what time he said, his body should be broken, and his blood shed for the remission of our sins. And to be short, as baptism is the badge of our faith, so is the Lord's Supper the token of our love to God and our neighbours: whereupon standeth the law and the prophets. For the end of the precept is love out of a pure heart, and good conscience and faith unfeigned. So that by baptism we be initiated and consigned unto the worship of one God in one faith. And by the same faith and love at the Lord's Supper, we show ourselves to continue in our possession, to be incorporated and to be the very members of Christ's body.

Eucharistia thanksgiving. 1 Cor. x. and xi.

1 Tim. i.

Baptism was figured by Circumcision, and the Lord's Supper by the paschal lamb.

Both these sacraments were figured in Moses' law. Baptism was figured by circumcision; and the Lord's Supper, by the eating of the paschal lamb. Where like as by circumcision, the people of Israel were reckoned to be God's people, several from the Gentiles, so be

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we now by baptism reckoned to be consigned unto Christ's church, several from Jews, paynims, &c. And as their passover, that is to say, their solemn feast yearly, in eating their paschal lamb, was an outward token of their perseverance in their religion, and in remembrance of their passage out of Egypt into the land of Canaan; so is now the eating of the Lord's Supper (which Christ and Paul called our passover,) a token of our perseverance in our christian profession at baptism, and also thanksgiving with that joyful remembrance of our redemption from sin, death, and hell, by Christ's death. Of the figure of this Supper, our new passover, thus it is written. After ye be entered into that land, which the Lord God shall give you according to his promise, ye shall keep this ceremony. And when your children ask you what religion is this? Ye shall answer them, It is the sacrifice of the passover of the Lord, when the Lord passed forth by the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, smiting the Egyptians and delivering our houses. This eating therefore of the paschal lamb was the figure of the Lord's Supper, which figure, when the hour was come that he would it to cease and give place unto the verity, as the shadow to vanish away at the presence of the body; he said thus, With a fervent desire do I long to eat this passover with you ere I suffer.

Luke xii. 1 Cor. v.

Exodus xii.

Luke xxii.

Again, let us compare the figure with the truth, the old passover with the new, and diligently consider the property of speaking, in and of either of them. Let us expend the succession, imitation, and time, how the new succeeding the old mediator Christ between both sitting at the Supper celebrating both with his presence, did put out the old and bring in the new. For there is in either of them such like composition of words, such affinity and proportion of speech, such similitude and propriety in them both, the new so corresponding in all things to the old, that the old declareth the new, what

The paschal lamb eaten and the Sacrament instituted.

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is it, wherefore it was instituted, and what is the very use thereof. And to begin at circumcision, the figure of baptism. Ye shall understand, that in such rites and sacraments there are two things to be considered, that is to wit, the thing, and the sign of the thing. The thing is it wherefore the sign is instituted to signify it, as in circumcision, the thing is, the covenant to be of the people of God, and the sign is, the cutting of the foreskin of the privy member. In the passover, the thing was, the remembrance with thanksgiving for the deliverance out of the hard servitude of Egypt; but the sign was, the lamb roasted with such ceremonies as were there prescribed them. So in baptism; the thing is, the promise to be of the church of Christ: the sign is, the dipping into the water with the holy words. In our Lord's Supper, the very thing is Christ promised and crucified, and of faith with thanksgiving unto the father for his son given to suffer for us. But the sign is, the dealing and distributing or reaching forth of the bread and wine, with the holy words of our Lord spoken at his supper, after he had thus dealt the bread and wine unto his disciples.

Two things to be considered in the Sacraments.

The matter and substance of the Sacrament and the signs of the same.

And here is it diligently to be noted, that in all such rites, ceremonies, or sacraments of God thus instituted, these two things (that is to wit, the thing signified, and the sign that signifieth,) be concurrent and inseparable. It is the common use and property of speech in the scripture, to call the sign the thing. As is circumcision called the covenant. Every manchild must be circumcised, that my covenant might be in your flesh for a perpetual band. And yet was it only but the outward sign and seal of the covenant, that the seed of Abraham should be his especial chosen people, and that he would be their God. The lamb that was but the sign, was called the passover; and yet was not the lamb the passing over, but the sign only exciting and admonishing them to remember that deliverance by the

The sign is called the thing.

Gen. xvii.

Exodus xii.

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angel passing by the Israelites in Egypt, smiting the Egyptians. And since this trope or manner of speech the Scripture did use with so great grace in the old rites and ceremonies that figured our sacraments, why may it not with like grace, for that analogy and proper congruence of the figures with their verities, use the same phrase and manner of speech in their verities? If the Scripture called the sign the thing in circumcision and the passover, why should we be offended with the same speech in our Baptism and in the Lord's Supper? Since such manner of speech have no less grace and fullness here than there to bring the thing signified into our hearts by such outward sensible signs. For when that sign of circumcision was given the child, then were they certified (as an outward token may certify,) that the child was of the people of Israel. And therefore did the signs then, as they do now, bear the names of things which they signified, as the lamb eaten in the passover was called the sacrifice and the self passover, none otherwise than in our new passover, that is, the Lord's Supper, the bread broken, &c. is called the body of Christ; and the wine poured forth and distributed to each man, the blood of Christ, because the bread so broken and dealt signifieth unto the receivers, and putteth them in remembrance of the sacrifice of his body on the altar of the cross, and of his blood poured forth for our redemption. So that this manner of speech in the administration and use of the Supper of our Lord, to say, This is my body, and this my blood, is as much to say as, this signifieth my body, this signifieth my blood, which Supper is here celebrated to put us in remembrance of Christ's death, and to excite us to thanksgiving.

The Scripture calleth the signs by the name of the thing that it signifieth.

The bread in the Sacrament called the body of Christ, and the wine called the blood of Christ.

Neither let it offend thee, (O! Christian reader,) that *est* is taken for *significat*, that is to say, this is that, is as much to say, as this signifieth that. For this is a common manner of speech in many places of Scripture, and also in our mother tongue, as when we see many

Est is taken for *significat*.

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pictures or images, which ye know well are but signs to represent the bodies whom they be made like; yet we say of the image of our Lady, This is our Lady, and of St. Katherine, this is St. Katherine, and yet d' they but represent and signify as, our Lady or St. Katherine: And as it is written, The three branches are three days, the three baskets are three days, which was not else, but they signified three days. Also in the twenty-eighth chapter, Jacob said, This stone which I have set up an end, shall be God's house, which stone yet was never God's house, nor never shall be, but only did signify God's house to be built in that same place. Again Pharaoh dreamed to have seen seven fair fat oxen, and afterwards seven poor lean oxen, which Joseph expounding, said, The seven fat oxen are seven plenteous years, in which phrase or manner of speech, every man seeth that the oxen were no years, but they signified such years. Marvel not, therefore, though *est*, likewise in this sentence, *Hoc est corpus meum*, be taken for *significat*, as much to say, as this signifieth my body. And yet for because the Scriptures conferred together, expound themselves, as saith St. Austin. And Peter, That we have before a firm and sure prophetical speech, unto which if we attend, as unto a light set up in a dark place, we do well. I shall show you a like phrase in Ezekiel, where the destruction of Jerusalem was thus figured: God commanding Ezekiel to take a sword as sharp as a razor, and shave off his head and beard, and then take a certain weight of the hairs divided into three parts; the one he should burn in the middle of the city, another he should cut round about, and cast the third up into the wind, &c. which done, he said, Thus saith the Lord God; this is Jerusalem: which act and deed so done, was not Jerusalem. But it signified and preached unto the beholders of it, Jerusalem to be destroyed; none otherwise than the breaking and distributing of the bread and wine called Christ's body and

Gen. xl.

The figurative speeches used in the Scripture.

2 Peter ii.

Ezek. v.

The manner of speaking in the Scripture.

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blood, signifieth and preacheth us the death of Christ, the figure and sign bearing the name of the thing signified, as in the Prophet's speech, saying, This is Jerusalem, which did but signify Jerusalem. When Christ did breathe into his disciples, saying, Take ye the Holy Ghost; the same breath was not the Holy Ghost, but signified and represented them the Holy Ghost, with a thousand like manner of speech in the Scripture. John xx.

In the old passover, thanks were given for the slaughter of the first-begotten, wherein the King's posterity of Egypt fell away. (The Hebrews spared, pass over, and delivered.) But in the new passover, thanks were given that the only begotten son of the Most High was crucified, whereby all faithful are spared, passed over, and not smitten with the sword of damnation, but delivered and saved in the Lamb's blood that hath taken away the sins of the world. In the old passover, the lamb or feast is called the Lord's Passover, and yet was neither the lamb nor the feast his passing over, but the sign and commemoration of his passing by. And even so is it now in the new Supper of our Lord: it is there called the body of our Lord; not that there is any thing wherein his very natural body is contained, so long and so broad as it hanged on the cross; for so is it ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; but that thing that is there done in that Supper, as the breaking, and dealing, and eating of the bread, and the whole like action of the wine, signifieth, representeth, and putteth into our hearts, by the spirit of faith, this commemoration, joyful remembrance, and so to give thanks for that inestimable benefit of our redemption, wherein we see, with the eye of our faith, presently his body broken and his blood shed for our sins. This is no small sacrament, nor yet irreverently to be entreated; but it is the most glorious and highest sacrament, with all reverence and thanksgiving to be ministered, used, received, preached, and solemnly, in the

The natural body of Christ is not in the Sacrament.

The Sacrament is to be received with thanksgiving.

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face of the congregation, to be celebrated; of whose holy administration and use I shall, peradventure, speak in the end of this Supper.

The use of the Supper.

But in the mean season, (Christian reader,) let these sensible signs signify and represent his death, and print it in thy heart, giving thanks incessantly unto God the Father for so incomparable a benefit, that hath given thee his own only so dearly beloved Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, to die for thy sins, yea, and that when we were not his children, but his enemies. Christ's disciples said to the man, Where is this guest-chamber, where I might eat the passing by with my disciples? And they prepared the passover; and yet Christ eat not the passover, but the lamb, with his disciples; where it is plain that sign to do on the name of the thing.

Luke xxii.

Note here the whole circumstance of the manner and institution of the Sacrament of Christ's body.

At last, consider unto what end all things tended in that last Supper, how the figure teached the verity, the shadow the body, and how the verity abolished the figure, and the shadow gave place to the body. Look also with what congruence, proportion, and similitude, both in the action and the speech, all things were consummate and finished; and all to lead us by such sensible signs from the figure unto the verity, from the flesh unto the spirit. And take thou here this infallible and assured saying of Christ, never to fall from thy mind in this last Supper, Do ye this into the remembrance of me. And also of Paul, saying, So oft as ye shall eat this bread (lo! this heretic calleth it bread even after the words of the Pope's consecration) and drink of this cup, praise, declare, and give thanks for the death of the Lord until he shall come again to judgment. Remember thou also what Christ said to the carnal Jews taking the eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood so carnally, answering them, My flesh profiteth not, (meaning to eat it bodily;) but the Spirit maketh life. And to this set the prophet Habakkuk's sentence, The just liveth of his faith.

Luke xxii.

1 Cor. xi.

John vi.

Habak. ii.

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And now, (Christian reader,) to put thee clean out of doubt that Christ's body is not here present under the form of bread, (as the Papists have mocked us many a day,) but in heaven, even as he rose and ascended; thou shalt know that he told his disciples, almost twenty times between the thirteenth and eighteenth chapters of John, that he should and would go hence, and leave this world; where, to comfort them again, for that they were so heavy for his bodily absence, he promised to send them his Holy Ghost to be their comforter, defender, and teacher, in whom and by whom he would be present with them and all faithful unto the world's end. He said unto his disciples, I go hence; I go to the Father; I leave the world, and now shall I no more be in the world, but ye shall abide still in the world. Father, I come to thee. Poor men have ye ever with you; but me shall ye not always have with you. And when he ascended unto heaven, they did behold him, and saw the cloud take his body out of their sight; and they fastening their eyes after him, the two men clothed in white said unto them, Ye men of Galilee, wherefore stand ye thus looking up into heaven? This is Jesus that is taken up from you into heaven, which shall so come again, even as ye have seen him going hence.

Christ declared to his disciples that he would leave this world and go to his Father in heaven.

Scriptures are many that show Christ, as touching his natural body, is gone and is not here.

Acts ii.

Here I would not More to flit from his literal plain sense. All these so plain words be sufficient, I trow, to a Christian man to certify his conscience that Christ went his way, bodily ascending into heaven. For when he had told his disciples so oft of his bodily departing from them, they were marvellous heavy and sad; unto whom Christ said, Because I told you that I go hence, your hearts are full of heaviness. If they had not believed him to have spoken of his very bodily absence, they would never have so mourned for his going away. And for because they so understood him, and he so meant as his words sound, he added, (as he should have

Christ ascended into heaven.

John xiv. and xvi.

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said,) Be ye never so heavy, or how heavily soever ye take my going hence, yet do I tell you truth: for it is expedient for you that I go hence. For if I should not go hence, that Comforter should not come unto you. But and if I go hence, I shall send him unto you. And again, in the same chapter, I am come from the Father, and am come into the world, and shall leave the world again, and go to my Father. What mystery, think ye, should be in these so manifest words? Did he speak them in any dark parables? Did he mean otherwise than he spake? Did he understand by going hence, so often repeated, to tarry here still? or did he mean by forsaking and leaving the world to be but invisible, being still in the world with his body? No surely. For he meant as faithfully and as plainly as his words sound, and even so did his disciples, without any more marvelling, understand him. For they answered him, saying, Lo, now speakest thou plainly, neither speakest thou any proverb. But what a dark proverb and subtle riddle had it been, if he had meant by his going hence to have tarried here still, and by forsaking the world, to abide still in the world? and by his going hence to his Father by his very bodily ascension, to be but invisible? Who would interpret this plain sentence, thus; I go hence, that is to say, I tarry here still. I forsake the world and go to the Father, that is to say, I will be but invisible and yet here abide still in the world bodily. For as concerning his Godhead, which was ever with the Father, and in all places at once, he never spake such words of it. Christ said (his death now was at hand) unto his disciples, Now again I forsake the world and go to my Father, but ye shall tarry still in the world. If they will expound by his forsaking the world, to tarry here still bodily, and to be but invisible, why do they not by like exposition interpret the tarrying here still of the disciples at that time, to be gone hence bodily and to be

Christ in plain words declareth his bodily departure out of this world.

Christ plainly showed unto his disciples that he must depart from this world to his Father in heaven.

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here visible? For Christ did set these contraries one against another to declare each other. As if to tarry here still, did signify to the disciples that they should abide in the world, as it doth indeed; then must needs his going hence and forsaking the world, signify his bodily absence, as both the words plainly sound, Christ meant, and they understood them. But in so plain a matter, what need these words: Be thou therefore sure, (Christian reader,) that Christ's glorified body is not in this world, but in heaven, as he thither ascended, in which body he shall come even as he went, gloriously with power and great majesty to judge all the world in the last day. Be thou therefore assured, that he never juggled nor mocked his so dearly beloved disciples, so full of heaviness now for his bodily departing. For if he had so meant as our Papists have perverted his saying, his disciples would have wondered at so strange a manner of speech, and he would have expressed his mind plainly, since at this time he was so full set to leave them in no doubt, but to comfort them with his plain and comfortable words. And if he would have been but invisible and still bodily present, he would never have covered himself with the cloud, showing them and testifying also by those two men his very bodily ascension out of their sights. We may not make of his very bodily ascension, such an invisible juggling cast as our Papists feign, fashioning and feigning Christ a body now invisible, now in many places at once, and then so great, and yet in so little a place, not discerned of any of our senses, now glorified, now unglorified, now passable, and then impassable, and I wot [not] near what they imagine and make of their maker, and all without any word, yea, clean against all the words of holy Scripture. For surely in this their imagination and so saying, they bring in afresh the heresy of that great heretic Marcion, which said, that Christ took but a phantastical body, and so was neither verily born nor suffered, nor rose,

Christ's glorified body is in heaven.

Christ's ascension was witnessed by many.

The heresy of Marcion, what it was.

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nor ascended verily, neither was he very man; which heresy Tertullian confuteth. Christ took verily our nature, such a passable and mortal body as we bear about with us, save that he was without all manner of sin. In such a body he suffered verily, and rose again from death in such a glorified body now immortal, &c. as every one of us shall rise at the general judgment. It is appropriated only to his Godhead to be every where, and not to be circumscribed nor contained in no one place. And as for our Papists prophane void voices, his body to be in many places at once, indefinitive, incircumscriptive, *non per modum quanti, neque localiter*, &c. which includeth in itself contradiction, of which Paul warned Timothy, calling them the oppositions of a false named science, (for that their scholastical divinity must make objections against every truth, be it never so plain with *pro* and *contra*,) which science, many that profess it (saith Paul) have erred from the faith: As for this contention and battle about words, profitable for nothing else but to subvert the hearers, I care not for them, for I have the almighty testimony of the everlasting word of God, ready to foil all their mad and unreasonable reasons, to wipe them clean away, and to turn them into their own confession [confusion].

1 Tim. vi. 2 Tim. ii.

1 Tim. ii.

And for because they hold them so fast by Paul, I shall loose their hold, expounding the Lord's Supper after Paul, which addeth immediately unto the cup, this that Luke there left forth. Do ye this into my remembrance. This doth Paul repeat so often to put us in mind, that this thanksgiving and supper is the commemoration and the memorial of Christ's death. Wherefore after all he repeateth it yet again the third time, saying, So oft as ye shall eat this bread (he calleth it still bread even after the Pope's consecration,) and drink the cup, (he saith not drink this blood,) see that ye give thanks, be joyous, and preach the death of

1 Cor. xi.

The Supper of the Lord is the commemoration and memorial of Christ's death.

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the Lord, for so much signifieth *annunciate* in this place, until he come, that is to say, from the time of his death and ascension until he come again to judgment. Furthermore, (saith Paul) Whoso eateth this bread, (he calleth it still bread) or drink of the cup of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. The body and blood of the Lord, Paul calleth here the congregation assembled together to eat the Lord's Supper. For they are his body and blood which are redeemed with his body and blood, as he said in the tenth chapter before: The cup of thanksgiving which we receive with thanks, is it not the fellowship of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the fellowship of the body of Christ? For we being many together are one bread, and one body. Lo here Paul expounding himself, useth the same form of speech that is used in these words: This is my body; taking *is*, for signifieth, we are one bread and one body; that is to say, we are signified by one loaf of bread to be one body; he showeth the cause, adding, because we be all partakers of one loaf or piece of bread. And in the twelfth chapter following, he saith plainly, Ye be the body of Christ and his particular members; and in the first to the Ephesians, God did set Christ to be the head over all unto his congregation, which is his body, &c.

St. Paul calleth the Sacrament bread after the consecration.

By one loaf of bread we are signified to be one body in Christ.

And because the comparison in the tenth chapter between the Lord's board and his cup, and the devil's board and his cup, do declare this matter, I shall recite Paul's words, saying, Ye may not drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of the devil both together. Ye may not be partakers of the Lord's board and the devil's board both at once. The devil's board and his cup was not his body and blood, but the eating and drinking before their images and idols, as did the heathen in the worship of their gods. Of the which thing thou mayest gather what Paul meant by the Lord's

The cup of the Lord and the cup of the devil, how they differ.

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board and his cup. Now let us return to Paul in the eleventh chapter: They eat this bread, and drink of this cup unworthily, that come not unto this board with such faith and love as they professed at their baptism. They eat unworthily that thrust themselves in among this congregation, having not the love that this sacrament and sign of unity teacheth and signifieth. Which manner of people Paul, in that same chapter, rebuketh, and bendeth all his sermon against them: for that they were contentious, and came together not for the better but for the worse. So that their coming together, which should have been a token of faith and love, was turned into the occasion and matter of dissension and strife; because every man did eat (as Paul saith) his own supper, and not the Lord's Supper, wherein the bread and drink is common as well to the poor as to the rich. But here the rich disdained the poor and would not care for them; so that some (as the rich) went their way drunken and full, and the poor departed hungry and dry; which was a token of no equal distribution of the bread and drink, and that the rich contemned the poor, and so became slanderous and guilty of the body and blood of Christ: that is to wit, of the poor congregation redeemed with Christ's body and blood. Thus, they that came together appearing to have had that love which the supper signified, and had it not, uttered themselves by this contentious and unloving dealing not to be members of Christ's body, but rather guilty and hurtful unto them. As if a soldier of our adversaries part should come in among us with our Lord's badge, having not that heart, faith and love to our captain that we have, we would (if we espied it by any token) take him for a spy and betrayer rather than one of us.

Who they are that eat of the bread and drink of the cup unworthily.

Every man did eat his own supper and not the Supper of the Lord.

Let a man therefore (saith Paul) prove himself well before, whether he hath this faith to Christ and love to God and his neighbour, which all he professed at baptism, and this Supper signified; and so come in

We must first examine ourselves, and then come to the table of the Lord.

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among the congregation to eat of this bread and drink of this cup, (he calleth it still bread and wine, and neither his body nor blood.) For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he discerneth not the Lord's body. He calleth still the Lord's body the congregation redeemed with Christ's body, as he did before, and also in the chapter following, fetching his analogy and similitude at the natural body; in which although there be divers members, one excelling another, one inferior, viler and more contemptible than another, yet may not the body want them, but must cover them reverently, and hold them in honour. Again, in the body, though there be divers members of divers offices, yet is there no discord among them; but every member, be it never so low and vile, yet doth it minister and serve another, and altogether hold up and help the whole body. This consideration, with these comparisons so eloquently, so plenteously, so lively, doth Paul set forth in that twelfth chapter, that no man can desire any more; and all to bring us into the consideration and discretion of the body of Christ, which is his congregation, without which consideration and discretion, if we thrust ourselves in with his sign and recognizance feignedly, we be but hypocrites, and eat and drink our own judgment. For this cause many are sick among you, and many are asleep, that is, are dead. Here it seemeth some plague to have been cast upon the Corinthians for this abuse in the eating of the Lord's Supper. For both the law and the Prophets threatened us plagues, as pestilence, famine, and sword, for our sins. For if we had judged our souls, that is, if we had diligently examined our own living and repented, we should not have been judged, that is to say, punished of the Lord. But while we be punished, we be corrected of the Lord, lest we should be condemned with the world; wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, tarry one for another.

Look more of this in the Epistle to the Reader.

If we come not thankfully and charitably unto the Lord's board, we eat and drink our damnation.

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Here is the cause of all this dissension, wherefore Paul rebuketh them. But here might some of them object and tell Paul, Sir, we come thither hungry and may not tarry so long; whereunto Paul answereth, as he did before, saying, Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? Do ye contemn the congregation of God, and shame them that have none? Here he calleth the poor the Church of God, whom afterward he called the body of the Lord; and now at last he saith, If any man be so hungry, let him eat somewhat at home, and so delay his hunger, that he may the better tarry for the poor, lest ye come together unto your condemnation. And as for other things, I shall dispose and set in order when I come. These other things were concerning this Supper, and such as were out of frame among them, which if ye read the whole epistle, are easy to see, and that they were no necessary truths for their salvation; for all such truths Paul had preached them before, and written them too. Neither were these other things, Lent Fast, the Assumption of our Lady, hallowing of Boughs, Bells, and Ashes, hallowing of Vestments, and creeping to the Cross, with such other unwritten vanities, as M. More listeth to jest and trifle out the truth

St. Paul calleth the poor the church of God.

This place the Papists allege to prove unwritten verities.

Now have ye the very pure sense of these Christ's words, This is my body, that is to say, This signifieth or representeth my body, taking *est* for *significat*, as M. More himself uttered it in his dialogue put forth in William Barlowe's name, reciting the opinions of Œcolampadius and Zuinglius, saying, This is my body, is as much to say as, This signifieth my body, where he saith that Œcolampadius allegeth for him Tertullian, Chrysostome, and Austin, but falsely sometimes adding more to their words, sometime taking away from their sentences, which saying is plain false, and he believeth the man now departed, for first his incomparable learning and very spiritual judgment would not suffer him to be ignorant in the understanding of these old

More belieth Œcolampadius and Zuinglius.

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holy doctors, whom I dare say he understood as well as More. And his conscience and faithfulness would not suffer him falsely to pervert them, as M. More belieth and perverteth Christ, and Paul, and all holy Scripture. And if this man had thus dealt with these doctors' sayings, Luther, against whom he did contend in this matter, would not have left it untold him.

But (Christian reader,) to put thee out of doubt, have here these doctors' own words both in Latin and English. And first, hear Tertullian, where thou must first understand that there was an heretic called Marcion, saying that Christ took not to him the very body of man, but an imagined and a phantastical body, to put off and on when he listed, and so not to have been born verily of the Virgin Mary, nor yet to have suffered verily death, &c. against whom, thus writeth Tertullian in his fourth book.

Look more of this in the Epistle to the Reader.

Tertullian.

Professus itaque, se concupiscentia concupisse edere pascha, ut suum acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit, hoc est corpus meum dicendo; id est, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Cæterum, vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram non capere posset. Which words are thus in English spoken of Christ: "Which acknowledging himself with how fervent desire he longed to eat the Passover, as his bread taken and distributing to his disciples, made it his body, saying, This is my body, that is to say, the figure of my body; for figure had it been none, except it were a very body; for a void thing which is a phantasy, can receive no figure." Here it is plain, that This is my body, after the old holy Doctor, is as much to say, as This is the figure or sign that representeth or signifieth my body.

The words of Tertullian.

Austin.

And thus said Austin:—*Lex dicit non esse manducandum sanguinem, quod anima sit sanguis. Quod lex dicit, sanguis est anima; esse positum dicimus, sicut alia multa, et penè omnia Scripturarum illarum Sacra-*

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menta signis et figuris plena futuræ predicationis, quæ jam per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum declarata est, &c. Possum etiam interpretari præceptum illud in signo esse positum. Non enim dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, quum signum daret corporis sui. Sic est enim sanguis anima, quomodo petra erat Christus. Nec tamen quum hæc dicerit, ait: petra significabit Christum, sed ait: petra erat Christus. Quæ rursus ne carnaliter acciperetur, spiritualem illam vocat, id est spiritualiter intelligi docet. Which words be thus in English: "The law said that blood should not be eaten, because the life is blood, which precept of the law, and because that blood is life, we affirm it to be set like as many other almost innumerable sacraments of those Scriptures, full of signs and figures of the preaching to come, which now is declared by our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. And I may interpret that precept to be laid in a sign, for the Lord doubted not to say, This is my body, when he gave the sign of his body. And even so is the blood life, and the stone was Christ. And yet when he said these words, he said not the stone signified Christ; but he said the stone was Christ, which, lest they should be taken carnally, he calleth it spiritual, that is to say, he teacheth it to be understood spiritually." Where is now More's literal sense and material meat?

Gen. vi. Levit. vii. Deut. xii.

Austin calleth Sacrament the sign of his body.

Homo, 85. operis imperfecti.

Now shall ye hear Chrysostom:—*Nihil sensibile tradidit Christus; licet dederit panem et vinum: non quod panis et vinum non sint sensibilia, sed quod in illis mentem hærere noluit. Nam in suum corpus, quod est panis vitæ, subvehit dicens: Hoc est corpus meum; perinde ac dicat: Hoc licet panis sit, significat tamen tibi corpus.* Thus it is in English: "Christ giving bread and wine, gave no sensible thing, not that bread and wine be not sensible, but that he would not our mind to stick still in them. For he lifted us up into his body, which is the bread of life, saying, This is my

Chrysostom calleth the Sacrament the sign of Christ's body.

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body; as though he should say, Though this be but bread, yet it signifieth unto thee my body. Now judge thou (Christian reader,) whether M. More reporteth right of this man that allegeth these holy Doctors or no.

The confusion of the Papists' glosses.

Now have ye the pure understanding of the words of the Lord's Supper confirmed with the old holy Doctors. That, This is my body, is as much to say as, this signifieth my body. And, This is my blood, is, this signifieth my blood. But yet was there never such manner of speaking in the scripture. This is that: that is to say, this is converted and transubstantiated into that; or this is contained in that: the thing converted and changed keeping still her form, qualities, quantities, &c. As to say, This is my body; that is to say, This bread is converted into my body, the bread abiding still in his fashion, taste, colour, weight, &c. For Christ, when he converted water into wine, did not leave the form, colour, and taste still in the water; for so had it been no changing. But let our covetous converters chop and change bread and wine till we there feel, see, and taste neither bread nor wine, and then will we believe them, so they bring for them the word of God. For as for their false juggling, we feel it at our fingers' end; we see it, had we but half an eye; we taste it at our tongues' end, and know it with all our wits and understanding so manifestly, that we perceived them openly long ago, to be the very Antichrists of whom Christ and his apostles warned us to come in this last time.

The Papists are wresters and perverters of the scriptures.

The Papists say that the transubstantiation is done by miracles.

And if they say that this conversion is made by miracles; then must every one of them, as he say a mass, make us many a miracle, the very marks of M. More's church. For it is one great miracle that Christ's body should come so suddenly invisible and so oft out of heaven, and that such a miracle as the word of God never knew: another, that so great a body should be contained in so little a place, and that one body should

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be at once in so many places, and two bodies in one place: another, that it is eaten, neither the eater feeling it, nor the body eaten suffering nor feeling the teeth of the eater; with as many more marvellous and like miracles, or rather absurdities, of the bread and wine, that there must be the form, colour, taste, weight, broken, &c., and yet neither to be bread nor wine in our belief, except we will be burned of them because we believe not their juggling casts. O, mischievous miracle-makers! O, cruel converters! O, bloody butchers!

But hark, (Christian reader,) and I shall learn thee to know Christ's plain and true miracles from the sleighty juggling of these crafty conveyers. Christ would never have done miracles had men believed him only by his words; but when he said first these words, This is my body, no man doubted at them; no man was in any unbelief of them; wherefore these words must needs be plain, single, and pure, without miracle, as these: The three branches are three days; without any subtile transubstantiation, such insensible conversion, or any false miracle. Christ wrought all his miracles for the glory of God, to declare himself both God and man: so that all Christ's miracles were comprehended under man's senses or common wits, which bring in such knowledge unto the understanding: as when he changed water into wine, the miracle was first received with the sight, open at the eye, tasted with the mouth, and so conveyed unto the understanding. And now, though we neither see nor taste that miracle, yet we hear it, see it, read it, and so understand that it was once a miracle done of Christ. When he restored the sight to the blind, healed the lame, cleansed the leprous, reared the dead; all was seen, heard, and so comprehended under our most sweet senses, that his very enemies were compelled to confess them for miracles. But our miracle-makers, that make daily so oft and so many,

All true miracles are done to set forth the glory of God.

Christ did miracles to declare himself to be both God and man.

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are so far from this clear point, that their miracles in this matter be not, neither shall be contained nor comprehended under any of our five wits; but they rather delude and deceive both sight, taste, feeling, hearing, and smelling, yea, our faith and understanding too. Beware, therefore, of these mischievous miracle-makers for their own glory and profit; and will kill thee too, if thou believest not their lies. Beware, I say, of those merchants that will sell thee wares which they will not suffer thee to see, nor to taste, nor to touch; but when they show thee white, thou must believe it is black. If they give thee bread, thou must believe it without any word of thy faith, that it is Christ's body, and that of their own making. If thou taste, see, and feel it bread, yet thou must say it is none, though the Scripture calleth it bread twenty times. Beware, beware I say, of Antichrist! whose coming, saith Paul, (He is come already; saith John, Now are there many Antichrists) shall be after the working of Satan with an almighty power, with false signs and wonders, lying miracles, and with all deceit of unrighteousness, &c.

All Christ's miracles were such as were comprehended unto our senses.

The doctrine and tyranny of the Papists.

1 Thess. ii. 1 John, ii.

To be too curious in so plain a sacrament and sign; to cavil Christ's clear words with sophistical sophisms; and to trifle out the truth with taunts and mocks, as M. More doth, is no Christian manner. And if our Papists and scholastical sophisters will object and make answer to this Supper of the Lord, bringing in for them their unwritten words, deeds, and dreams, (for we have compelled More with shame to flit from the Scripture) strewed with their vain, strange terms, which Paul damneth, and giveth Timothy warning of; I shall, by God's grace, so set the almighty word of God against them, that all Christians shall see falsehood and deceit in this sacrament; and so disclose their devilish doctrine and sleighty juggling, that all that can read English shall see the truth of God's word openly bear down their unwritten lies: for it is verily the thing that I

More driven from the manifest and plain scriptures.

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desire, even to be written against in this matter; for I have the solutions of all their objections ready, and know right well that the more they stir in this sacrament, the broader shall their lies be spread, the more shall their falsehood appear, and the more gloriously shall the truth triumph; as it is to see this day, by long contention in this same and other like articles, which the Papists have so long abused, and how More his lies utter the truth every day more and more. For had he not come begging for the clergy from purgatory, with his supplication of souls; and Rastel and Rochester, had they not so wisely played their parts, purgatory peradventure had served them yet another year; neither had it so soon have been quenched, nor the poor soul and proctor there been with his bloody bishop Christian cat, so far conjured into his own Utopia, with a satchel about his neck, to gather for the proud priests *in Synagoga Papistica.*

The contentious and wicked doctrine of the Papists hath provoked the light of God's truth to be set forth to the understanding of the people.

When Christ was ascended into heaven, and had sent his apostles the Spirit of truth, to lead them into all truth pertaining unto our salvation, even unto him that said, I am the truth; of which truth he instructed them after his resurrection, (Luke xxiv.) and they had preached the same truth now at Jerusalem (Acts ii.), at which preaching, there were that received their words and were baptised about three thousand; his apostles remembering how their master Christ, at his last Supper, did institute and leave them this holy sacrament of his body and blood, to be celebrated and done in his remembrance among such as had received his gospel, were baptised, had professed his faith, and would persevere in his religion, did now, in this first congregation, celebrate the Lord's Supper, breaking the bread, and eating it, as Christ did teach them; which Supper, Luke and Paul called afterward the breaking of the bread; as Acts ii., saying, That they which gladly had now received Peter's act and were baptised,

How the apostles did in the first congregation celebrate the Lord's Supper.

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were persevering in the doctrine of the Apostles, and in the communion, and in the breaking of the bread, and in prayer, which sacrament was now a token of the perseverance in their Christian religion now professed. Of this breaking of bread, Luke, writing of Paul coming unto Troas, saith also, That there upon a sabbath-day, when the disciples were come together unto the breaking of the bread, Paul made a sermon during to midnight, &c. And that this was no common nor prophane use, but an heavenly sacrament, and a reverent rite and usage, the circumstances of the action declare, both in Luke and Paul, showing it to be the very institution that Christ ordained at his Supper. Paul thus reciting this breaking of the bread, saying, The bread which we break, is it not the fellowship of the body of Christ? that is to say, doth it not signify us to be the body of Christ, that is, his congregation and people? as doth the words following declare. Paul adding the cause, saying, For we being many, are all together signified by the one loaf to be one body, for that we be partakers of the same bread. Also before he calleth, in the same Supper, the cup of thanksgiving the fellowship of the blood of Christ; that is to say, the congregation redeemed with Christ's blood.

Acts, xx.

The holy Sacrament, therefore, would God it were restored unto the pure use, as the Apostles used it in their time! would God the secular princes, which should be the very pastors and head rulers of their congregations committed unto their cure, would first command or suffer the true preachers of God's word to preach the Gospel purely and plainly, with discreet liberty, and constitute over each particular parish such curates as can and would preach the word, and that once or twice in the week, appointing unto their flock certain days, after their discretion and zeal to God-ward, to come together to celebrate the Lord's Supper, at the which assembly the curate would propound and declare them

The Sacrament is not used in these days as it was in the time of the Apostles.

A good doctrine for all such ministers as have cure of souls, to use to their flock.

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first, this text of Paul, 1 Cor. xi.: So oft as ye shall eat this bread and drink of this cup, see that ye be joyous, praise, and give thanks, preaching the death of the Lord, &c. which declared, and every one exhorted to prayer, he would preach them purely Christ to have died and been offered upon the altar of the cross for their redemption, which only oblation to be sufficient sacrifice to appease the Father's wrath, and to purge all the sins of the world. Then to excite them with humble diligence, every man unto the knowledge of himself and his sins, and to believe and trust to the forgiveness in Christ's blood; and for this so incomparable benefit of our redemption, (which were sold bondmen to sin,) to give thanks unto God the Father for so merciful a deliverance through the death of Jesus Christ, every one, some singing, and some saying devoutly, one or other Psalm or prayer of thanksgiving in the mother tongue. Then the bread and wine set before them in the face of the church, upon the table of the Lord, purely and honestly laid, let him declare to the people the significations of those sensible signs; what the action and deed moveth, teacheth, and exhorteth them unto; and that the bread and wine be no prophane common signs, but holy sacraments, reverently to be considered and received with a deep faith and remembrance of Christ's death, and of the shedding of his blood for our sins, those sensible things to represent us the very body and blood of Christ, so that while every man beholdeth with his corporeal eye those sensible sacraments, the inward eye of his faith may see and believe steadfastly Christ offered and dying upon the cross for his sins, how his body was broken and his blood shed for us, and hath given himself whole for us, himself to be all ours, and whatsoever he did to serve us, as to be made for us of his Father, our righteousness, our wisdom, holiness, redemption, satisfaction, &c.

Thanksgiving.

The bread and wine are not prophane, but sacraments to holy life.

1 Cor. i.

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Then let this preacher exhort them lovingly to draw near unto this table of the Lord, and that not only bodily, but also (their hearts purged by faith, garnished with love and innocency,) every man to forgive each other unfeignedly, and to express, or at leastwise to endeavour them to follow that love which Christ did set before our eyes at his last Supper, when he offered himself willingly to die for us his enemies; which incomparable love to commend, bring in Paul's arguments, so that this his flock may come together, and be joined into one body, one spirit, and one people. This done let him come down, and accompanied honestly with other ministers, come forth reverently unto the Lord's table, the congregation now set round about it, and also in their other convenient seats, the pastor exhorting them all to pray for grace, faith, and love, which all this sacrament signifieth, and putteth them in mind of. Then let there be read aptly and distinctly, the sixth chapter of John, in their mother tongue, whereby they may clearly understand, what it is to eat Christ's flesh and to drink his blood. This done, and some brief prayer and praise sung or read, let one or other minister read the eleventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, that the people might perceive clearly of those words the mystery of this Christ's Supper, and wherefore he did institute it.

A wholesome and good lesson, namely for all ministers.

Rom. v.

At the ministration of the Sacrament let the minister exhort all men to have faith and love, and to pray for grace.

These, with such like preparations and exhortations had, I would every man present should profess the Articles of our faith openly in our mother tongue, and confess his sins secretly unto God, praying entirely that he would now vouchsafe to have mercy upon him, receive his prayers, glue his heart unto him by faith and love, increase his faith, give him grace to forgive and to love his neighbour as himself, to garnish his life with pureness and innocency, and to confirm him in all goodness and virtue. Then again it behoveth the curate to

A good and necessary exhortation to be made to the people at the time they receive the communion.

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warn and exhort every man deeply to consider and expound with himself, the signification and substance of this sacrament, so that he sit not down an hypocrite and a dissembler, since God is searcher of heart and reins, thoughts and affects, and see that he come not to the holy table of the Lord without that faith which he professed at his baptism, and also that love which the sacrament preacheth and testifieth unto his heart, lest he, now found guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, (that is, to wit, a dissembler with Christ's death and slanderous to the congregation, the body and blood of Christ,) receive his own damnation. And here let every man fall down upon his knees, saying secretly with all devotion, their *paternoster* in English, their curate as example kneeling down before them, which done, let him take the bread and eft the wine in the sight of the people, hearing him with a loud voice, with godly gravity, and after a christian religious reverence, rehearsing distinctly the words of the Lord's Supper in their mother tongue; and then distribute it to the ministers, which taking the bread with great reverence, will divide it to the congregation, every man breaking and reaching it forth to his next neighbour and member of the mystical body of Christ, other ministers following with the cups, pouring forth and dealing them the wine, all together thus being now partakers of one bread and one cup, the thing thereby signified and preached, printed fast in their hearts. But in this, meanwhile, must the minister or pastor be reading the communication that Christ had with his disciples after his Supper, beginning at the washing of their feet; so reading till the bread and wine be eaten and drunken and all the action done. And then let them all fall down on their knees, giving thanks highly unto God the Father, for this benefit and death of his Son, whereby now by faith every man is assured of remission of his sins, as this blessed sacrament had put them in mind, and preached it them in

None may come to the communion without the wedding garment of faith.

John, xiii.

Thanksgiving to God.

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this outward action and Supper. This done, let every man commend and give themselves whole to God and depart.

I would have hereto put my name, (good reader,) but I know well that thou regardest not who writeth, but what is written: thou esteemest the word of the verity, and not of the author. And as for M. More, whom the verity most offendeth, and doth but mock it out when he cannot foil it, he knoweth my name well enough. For the devil, his guardian, as himself saith, cometh every day into purgatory, (if there be any day at all,) with his heinous and envious laughter, gnashing his teeth and grinning, telling the proctor with his Pope's prisoners, whatsoever is here done or written against them, both his person and name too. And he is now, I dare say, as great with his guardian as ever he was.

Those words of his are in his book that he made for the poor souls in purgatory.

If any man tell you, Lo! here is Christ, or there is he, believe him not; for there shall arise false Christs, false anointed, giving great miracles. Take heed; I have told ye before; if they therefore tell ye, Lo! he is in the desert, go not forth; lo! he is in the privy pix, believe it not.

Mark xiii.

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THE WORKS

OF THE

EXCELLENT MARTYR OF CHRIST,

JOHN FRITH.

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THE STORY, LIFE, AND MARTYRDOM

OF

JOHN FRITH,

WITH THE GODLY AND LEARNED WORKS AND WRITINGS OF THE SAID AUTHOR, HEREAFTER ENSUING.

THE said John Frith was born in Kent, and was the son of Richard Frith, innholder, in Sevenoakes, in the county of Kent. This young man so greatly profited in learning, that scarcely in his time there might be any found equal unto him. And unto his great knowledge and learning was adjoined such an honest conversation and godliness of life, that it was hard to judge in whether of them he was more commendable. Of the great godliness that was in him, this may serve for experiment sufficient, that notwithstanding his other manifold and singular gifts and ornaments of the mind in him most pregnant, wherewithal he might have opened an easy way unto honour and dignity, yet he chose rather wholly to consecrate himself unto the Church of Christ, excellently showing forth and practising in himself the precept so highly commended of the philosophers touching the life of man, which life (they say) is given unto us in such sort, that how much better

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the man is, so much the less he should live unto himself, but unto other, serving for the common utility; and that we should think a great part of our birth to be due unto our parents, a greater part unto our country, and the greatest part of all to be bestowed upon the Church, if we will be counted good men.

First of all, he began his study at Cambridge, where he had to his tutor Stephen Gardiner, who afterwards was Bishop of Winchester: and in the nature of this young man, being but a child, God had planted marvellous instinctions and love unto learning whereunto he was addict. He had also a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and understand anything, insomuch that he seemed not to be sent unto learning, but also born for the same purpose. Neither was there any diligence wanting in him equal to that towardness or worthy of his disposition; whereby it came to pass that he was not only a lover of learning, but also became an exquisite learned man.

And at that time it happened that Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal of York, prepared to build a College in Oxford, which had the name and title of Frideswyd, but now named Christ's Church; and unto this College the said Cardinal gathered together such men as were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge; among whom this John Frith, the author of these notable works, was one, who then being a student in Cambridge, and Bachelor of Arts, was called from thence, and

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placed in the said College. And when he had diligently laboured in most godly study certain years, not without great profit both of Latin and Greek, then being suspected to be a favourer of Martin Luther's doctrine, he was apprehended and committed to prison; from whence afterward being delivered, he resorted to the City of London, and there came in acquaintance with William Tyndale. And not long after, the said William and John Frith had many meetings and great conferences, and by the said William he first received into his heart the seed of the Gospel and sincere godliness, and after with great peril and danger, they both being inquired and sought for, fled. William Tyndale first placed himself in Germany, and there did first translate the Gospel of St. Matthew into English, and after the whole New Testament, &c. And not long after the departure of Tyndale, John Frith escaped and fled into Flanders, where he remained almost the space of three years, and there he made his book against purgatory, and divers other godly and learned works, as in the preface of the said book doth appear. But at the last, he being driven to necessity and lack of money, was forced secretly to return over into this realm, to be relieved of his friends, namely of the Prior of Reading. And as it was thought he purposed to have had the Prior over with him, and he being at Reading, it happened that he was there taken for a vagabond, and brought to examination, where the simple man, loth to utter himself what he was, and unacquainted with their manner of examina-

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tions, and they greatly offended with him, committed him to the stocks, where when he had sitten a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, and would not for all that declare what he was: At last he desired that the schoolmaster of the town might be brought unto him, which at that time was one Leonard Coxe, a man very well learned. As soon as he came unto him, Frith by and by, in the Latin tongue, began to bewail his captivity. The schoolmaster being overcome with his eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit, and disposition unlooked for, especially in such state of misery. Afterward they conferring more together upon many things, as touching the Universities, schools, and tongues, fell from the Latin tongue to the Greek, wherein Frith did so inflame the love of the said schoolmaster towards him, that he brought him into a marvellous admiration, especially when as the schoolmaster heard him so promptly by heart rehearse Homer's verses out of his first book of Iliad. Whereupon the schoolmaster went with all speed unto the magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they did show unto so excellent and innocent a young man; and so through the help of the said schoolmaster, the said Frith was freely set at liberty. Albeit, his safety continued not long, through the great hatred and deadly pursuit of Sir Thomas More, who at that time being Chancellor of England, persecuted him both by land and sea, besetting all the ways, ha-

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vens, and ports; yea, and promising great rewards if any man could bring him any news or tidings of him. Thus Frith being on every part beset with troubles, not knowing which way to turn him, sought for some place to hide him in; and so flying from one place to another, and often changing both his garments and place, yet could he be in safety in no place, no not long amongst his very friends, so that at the last he coming to a port town in Essex, called Milton shore, and there purposing to have taken shipping to have passed over into Flanders, was betrayed and brought bound back again, and laid in the Tower of London; and divers times after was called before Sir Thomas More, and also before the Bishops, with whom he had many conflicts. And he continuing long prisoner in the Tower, at the last a false brother resorted unto him, whose name was William Holt, a tailor, who (feigning that he bare great friendship unto him,) so flattered him, (and he himself being utterly devoid of all suspicious nature,) that he began to communicate unto him his very secrets, and among other, entered into a long discourse of the Sacrament, which Frith had penned in a book in the time that he was prisoner in the Tower; and when the said Holt had seen the said book, he required him most instantly to lend him the same only to read over, the which the said John Frith did unadvisedly grant, which after was the occasion of his great trouble, and finally of his death. So soon as this false brother had the book he departed, for now he had the

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prey that he had long watched for; and forthwith he carried the said book unto Sir Thomas More, who rejoiced not a little at the having thereof, and forthwith whetted his wits, and called his spirits together, meaning to refute his opinion by a contrary book, but that was more than he could do; yet he attempted to do as much as he might, and at the last wrote a book against him, the copy whereof, when it came to Frith's hands, although he were then prisoner in the Tower, and destitute both of books and conference, yet he answered it, omitting nothing that any man could desire to the perfect and absolute handling of the matter. Besides all these commendations of the aforesaid learned young man, there was also in him a friendly and prudent moderation in uttering of the truth, joined with learned godliness, which virtue hath always so much prevailed in the Church of Christ, that without it all other gifts of knowledge, be they never so great, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes do very much hurt; and in all matters where necessity did not move him to contend, he was ready to grant all things for quietness sake.

After he had sufficiently contended in his writings with More, Rochester, and Rastell, More's son-in-law, whom he did so valiantly fight withal and confound, that he converted Rastell to his part: Then he was carried to Lambeth before the Bishop of Canterbury, and afterward to Croydon, where was present Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who had been his tutor in Cam-

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bridge as aforesaid, and seemed to owe unto him great love and favour, but in the stead thereof he found in the end his great malice and tyranny; and last of all he was called before the Bishops in a common assembly at London, where he so constantly defended himself, that he had prevailed, if he might have been heard, as indeed he was not. The order of his judgment, with the manner of his examination, and articles which were objected against him, are comprised and set forth by himself in a letter written to his friends, which letter also is imprinted and set forth in this book. After sentence given against him by the Bishop of London, he was delivered to the Mayor and Sheriffs of the said city, (Sir Stephen Pecocke, a simple man, being then Mayor,) and forthwith he was committed to Newgate, where he was put into the dungeon under the said gate, and laden with bolts and irons as many as he could bear, and his neck with a collar of iron made fast to a post, so that he could neither stand upright nor stoop down, yet was he there continually occupied in writing of divers things, namely, with a candle both day and night, for there came none other light into that place: and in this case he remained three or four days, and then was from thence carried into Smithfield, the 4th day of July, 1533, where with great patience and constancy, he suffered that most helly and cruel death of burning.

And when the fire was set on the faggots he embraced the same in his arms, and with all patience committed his spirit unto Almighty God.

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But this one thing is yet to be remembered, that he being bound to the stake with another good martyr, which was a very simple young man, named Andrew Hewet, there was present one Doctor Cooke, that was parson of the Church called All-hallows, in Honey-lane, situate in the midst of Cheapside. And the said Cooke made an open exclamation, and admonished the people that they should in no wise pray for them no more than they would do for a dog: at which words, Frith, smiling, desired the Lord to forgive him. But the ungodly and uncharitable words of the said Doctor did not a little offend the people. And thus for the testimony of the true doctrine of Christ, which the said Frith sealed with his blood, the day and year aforesaid, he died in the twenty-fourth year of his age, (as some say,) but his parents reported in the thirtieth year of his age.

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A

DISPUTATION OF PURGATORY

MADE BY

JOHN FRITH.

WHICH IS DIVIDED INTO THREE BOOKS.

The First Book is an answer unto RASTELL which goeth about to prove Purgatory by Natural Philosophy.

The Second Book answereth unto Sir THOMAS MORE which labour-eth to prove Purgatory by Scripture.

The Third Book maketh answer unto my Lord of ROCHESTER which most leaneth unto the doctors.

"Beware, lest any man come and spoil you through philosophy and deceitful vanity, through the traditions of men, and ordinations after the world, and not after Christ."—Col. ii.

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JOHN FRITH

UNTO

THE CHRISTIAN READER.

GRACE and peace be with thee, Christian reader. I am sure there are many that will much marvel and count it a great presumption, that I, being so young and of so small learning, dare attempt to dispute this matter against these three personages, of the which number two, that is to say, my Lord of Rochester and Sir Thomas More, are ancient men, both of great wit and dignity. Notwithstanding, I will desire them patiently to hear mine answer, not advertising who speaketh the words, but rather what is said. And as concerning mine youth, let them remember what Paul monisheth 1 Tim. iv. willing that Timotheus should instruct the congregation, and that no man should despise his youth; for as the Spirit of God is bound to no place, even so is he not addicted to any age or person, but inspireth when he will and where he will, making the young to see visions and espy the truth, and the elders to dream dreams, and to wander in phantasies. (Acts ii. Joel ii.)

Not who speaketh, but that which is spoken, is to be weighed most.

1 Tim. iv.

The Holy Ghost inspireth where, when, and on whom he pleaseth.

Acts ii.

And as touching my learning, I must needs acknowledge (as the truth is,) that it is very small, nevertheless that little (as I am bound,) have I de-

1 Cor. xii

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The talent of our learning is to be employed to the edifying of Christ's congregation.

termined by God's grace, to bestow to the edifying of Christ's congregation, which I pray God to increase in the knowledge of his word.

I would not that any man should admit my words or learning, except they will stand with the Scripture, and be approved thereby. Lay them to the touchstone, and try them with God's word. If they be found false and counterfeit, then damn them, and I shall also revoke them with all mine heart; but if the Scripture allow them, that you cannot deny but it so is, then resist not the doctrine of God, but acknowledge your ignorance and seduction, and return gladly into the right way; for if you cannot improve it by God's word, and yet of an hate and malicious mind that you bear to the truth, labour to resist it, and condemn that it should not spread, I insure you your sin is irremissible, and even against the Holy Ghost, and the blood of them that perish for fault of instruction, shall be required on your hands.

Wilfully to resist God's word is sin against the Holy Ghost.

Eze. xxxiii.

Objection.

Peradventure some of you will say, your fathers and old progenitors, with many holy men and doctors, have so believed, and that therefore you will abide by the old. I answer: the ways and judgments of God are marvellous. Who knoweth whether God have suffered his elect to err and be seduced for a season, to the intent that the unfaithful, which would not believe the truth, but had pleasure in iniquity, might stumble at their error into their utter confusion and ruin? Although a man be never so faithful and holy, yet is there much imperfection in him as long as he is included in this mortal body; howbeit, it is not imputed

Answer.

1 Thess.

Our imperfection forgiven through faith in Christ's blood.

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unto him, but through the faith in Christ's blood, wholly pacified and forgiven. And therefore it is not sure that we follow their exterior works or other imaginations, but let us ever confer them unto the pure word of God, and as the Scripture testifieth, so let us receive them.

The Bishop of Rochester's own opinion concerning the understanding of the scriptures in his time, and long afore that.

My Lord of Rochester doth testify himself, writing upon the 18th Article, that there are many points both of the Gospels and other Scriptures, which are now discussed more diligently, and more clearly understood than they have been in times past. And addeth furthermore, that there are divers places in Scripture yet some deal dark, which he doubteth not but that they shall be more open and light unto our posterity; for why shall we despair of that, (saith he) since that the Scripture is for that intent left with us, that it may be understood of us exactly, and to the uttermost point? Of this may you evidently perceive, that the old fathers and holy doctors have not seen all the truth; but somewhat is also left, through the high provision of God, to be discussed of their successors; and therefore is it not meet that we straightways cleave unto their words, without any farther ensearching the Scriptures. But we must examine all things by the Scriptures, although St. Paul or Peter should preach it unto us, as we see experience, (Acts xvii.) that when Paul preached, the audience daily searched the Scriptures, whether it were as he said.

Acts xvii.

The cause of our blindness and gross errors.

But you have been of long continuance secluded from the Scriptures, which is the cause of such gross errors as ye are now fallen in, so that ye could

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neither search them, nor yet once look on them. Alas! what blindness doth occupy our eyes! Are ye so childish to believe that the same word which hath made the unfaithful and heretics faithful and Christian in times past, is now so far altered, that it should cause the faithful and Christian to become heretics? I pray God open your eyes. Howbeit we may now well taste at our fingers' ends that we have long been in that miserable case that
2 Thess. ii. Paul prophesied upon us, (2 Thes. ii.) that God hath sent us strong delusions, because we would not receive the knowledge of the truth. What greater delusion can we have than to think that the very word of God, which was written for our comfort, which is the very food and sustenance of our souls, which is the sure meteyard and perfect touchstone that judgeth and examineth all things;
Rom. xv. to think (I say) that this wholesome word should be our poison and condemnation?

And albeit our forefathers have lived without it, and received all for truth that our prelates' bellies have imagined, yet is not their fault and ours alike, (although I cannot excuse their ignorance, but that it is sin before the face of God,) for they had not the light of God's word opened unto them.
Voluntary ignorance not to be excused. Now since we have the light declared unto us, and yet will proceed in blind ignorance, and not confer and examine these juggling mists with the light of God's word, our ignorance is wilful and without excuse.

Suffer therefore all things, whatsoever they be, to be tried and examined by the Scripture. If they be true, then shall the Scripture do them no

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hurt, but stablish and strengthen them, for the Scripture discloseth nothing but falsehood, and condemneth nothing but that is damnable.

The cause of John Frith's writing against purgatory.

And now to descend unto our matter and disputation, which is of purgatory, I shall show you what occasion I had to take it in hand. I wrote a letter unto a certain friend in England, desiring him instantly to send me certain books which I thought necessary for my use, and were not to be gotten in these parts, as the Chronicles, Sir Thomas More's book against the Supplication of Beggars, and certain other. These books I received upon St. Thomas's day before Christmas, the year of our Saviour 1530, with a letter written in this form. "Sir, I have sent you such books as you wrote for, and one more of Rastell's making, wherein he goeth about to prove purgatory, by natural philosophy, which thing (quoth he) I think be more easy to do, than to prove it by any good Scripture," &c. This stuff received, I was marvellously desirous and tickled to see what reasons he brought for his probations. And in the beginning and prologue of the book, he set seven reasons, which he said that fond fellows alleged for them to prove that there could be no purgatory. And indeed they are very fond that would deny purgatory, if there were no better arguments to confute it than he assigneth. But by God's grace I will propound seven times seven, which shall have such pith, that their painful purgatory shall not be able to abide the worst of them, for these seven that Rastell assigneth, are not worth one bean.

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When I had read and well pondered these reasons, I thought that he should sharply have confuted them, as he might full well have done, especially since they were but of his own imagination. Nevertheless, when I came unto his solutions, I found not one but it had certain points repugnant unto the Scripture, (unto which our reason must ever be obedient,) yea and also they were extremely injurious unto Christ and his precious blood.

Man's reason must be obedient to the scriptures.

Then left I him, and read Sir Thomas More's book, to see what Scripture might be brought for that purpose; and after that made I diligent inquiry to come by my Lord of Rochester's book; which also writeth on the same matter, and when I had well examined their reasons, and had seen the order and process of the Scriptures which they alleged, I found that clearly verified, which Aulus Gellius saith, That it were a great deal better for a man to be sharply rebuked, yea, and openly to have his faults published of his enemy, than to be coldly and slenderly praised of his friend. For a man's enemy ensearcheth narrowly, and gathereth together all that he can imagine, and so accuseth a man more of a fumous heat than of any verity; and therefore the audience (if they be wise) consider his words thereafter, and so give very small credence, or else none unto them. But if a man's friend before audience do praise him slenderly and coldly, it is an argument that the person is very faulty, for a friend beholdeth all qualities and circumstances, his birth, bringing up, and what feats he hath done all his

Aulus Gellius.

The rebuke of an open enemy better than the slender praise of a friend.

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life long, yea, and applieth many things unto his friend's praise, which serve but smally for it, for he will leave nothing behind that may be imagined to employ his friend's fame and honour. Now if in all these points he cannot colour out a glorious apparent laud, but is compelled, for lack of matter, to praise his friend slenderly, then (if the audience be wise) they may soon conjecture that he is not praise worthy, and also may well doubt whether that small praise which he gave him be true or not. Even so, when I had read these books of Sir Thomas More and my Lord of Rochester, and saw the small probations and slender reasons that those two witty and learned men had brought to confirm purgatory; considering also that they are the chiefest friends, proctors, and patrons thereof, and that they had applied many reasons and Scriptures for their purpose, (for lack of matter,) that rather made against them; yea, and not that only, but also that they dissented between themselves in their probations; for M. More saith, that "there is no water in purgatory;" and my Lord of Rochester saith, that "there is water;" Master More saith, that "the ministers of the punishment are devils," and my Lord of Rochester saith, "that the ministers of the punishment are angels;" Master More saith, "that both the grace and charity of them that lie in the pains of purgatory are increased;" my Lord of Rochester saith, "that the souls in purgatory obtain there neither more faith, nor grace, nor charity, than they brought in with them:"—these things considered, it made mine heart yearn and fully to con-

M. More and my Lord of Rochester cannot agree.

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sent, that this their painful purgatory was but a vain imagination, and that it hath of long time but deceived the people, and milked them from their money.

The purgatories that God hath ordained.

Notwithstanding, God hath left us two purgatories; one to purge the heart and cleanse it from the filth which we have partly received of Adam, (for we are by nature the children of wrath, Ephes. ii.) and partly added thereto by consenting unto our natural infirmity. This purgatory is the word

John xv.

of God, as Christ saith, (John xv.) Now are ye clean for the word which I have spoken unto you.

The purgatory of the heart.

This purgation obtaineth no man but through faith, for the unfaithful are not purged by the word of God, as the Scribes and Pharisees were nothing the better for hearing his word, but rather the worse, for it was a testimony against them unto their condemnation. And because we receive this purgation only through believing the word, therefore is the virtue of this purging applied also unto faith; for Peter saith, (Acts xv.) That the Gentiles' hearts were purged through faith, that is to say, through believing the word. And what word is that? verily the preaching that Christ's death hath fully satisfied for our sins, and pacified for ever the Father's wrath towards us, &c. This faith purifieth the heart, and giveth us a will and gladness to do whatsoever our most merciful Father commandeth us.

The purgatory of the heart is faith.

The purgatory of the members.

Nevertheless, because our infirmity is so great, and our members so weak and frail that we cannot eschew sin as our heart would, and as our will desireth; therefore hath God left us another

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purgatory, which is Christ's cross: I mean not his material cross that he himself died on, but a spiritual cross, which is adversity, tribulation, worldly depression, &c. And this is called the rod or scourge of God, wherewith he scourgeth every son that he receiveth, that we may remember his law, and mortify the old Adam and fleshly lust, which else would wax so rebellious that it would subdue us, reign in us, and hold us thralled under sin. Whensoever we have committed a crime, then is God present with this rod, as he saith, (Psalm lxxxix.) If they defile my ceremonies and not observe my commandments, then with a rod shall I punish their sins, and with beatings shall I reward their iniquities, but yet my mercy shall I not take from him, neither will I deceive him of my promise.

Heb. xii.

The purgatory of the members to the cross of Christ.

Ps. lxxxix.

This cross must we receive with a glad heart, and thank our loving Father for it, for it is but a medicine to heal our infirmity, and to subdue our rebellious members. But when our members are fully mortified, that is, when death hath subdued our corruptible body, and our flesh committed to rest in the earth, then cease the purgatories that God hath ordained, and then are we fully purged in his sight.

God naileth us to the cross to heal our infirmities.

If our clergy could have found in their hearts to have taken these purgatories upon them, they had never needed to imagine any other; but since their life began to wax so dissolute, specially since they should be the salt of the earth and lanterns of light, it was necessary for them to imagine purgatory after this life, for else they might be

So evil was the life of the Papists, that they imagined a purgatory for themselves.

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sure that the most part of them were never like to come in heaven.

Judge, Christian reader, which hast the spirit to discern, and knowest the voice of Christ, what reasons Rastell hath brought, and how he hath solved them; for in my mind both his reasons and solutions are so childish and unsavoury, so unlearned and barren, so full of faults and phantasies, that I rather pity the man's deep ignorance and blindness (which hath so deceived himself through philosophy and natural reason,) than I fear that he by his vain probations should allure any man to consent unto him.

Judge, and confer the Scriptures which Sir Thomas More and my Lord of Rochester allege for their opinion, and I doubt not but that God shall open thine eyes to espy that thing which hath blinded them.

Judge, and compare the Scriptures together which I have brought to confirm my purpose; ponder their reasons and my solutions unto them, and I am sure thou shalt perceive that my small learning hath condemned their high eloquence, that my folly hath brought to nought their wisdom, and that my youth hath disclosed their old and festered ignorance.

The wisdom of the world foolishness afore God.

And this is even the old practice of God: to choose the foolish things of the world to confound the wise,—to choose the weak to confound the mighty,—and to choose the vile things, which are of no reputation, to confound them of high degree; that no flesh might boast itself in his sight, to whom only be praise and thanks for ever. Amen.

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A PROLOGUE,

WHEREBY A MAN MAY THE BETTER PERCEIVE THE OCCASION AND WHOLE CAUSE OF THIS BOOK.

THERE was a brother of ours, named Simon Fish, (which now, I trust, resteth in God's hands) whose eyes God had opened, not only to espy the wily walking of hypocrites and ruin of the realm, which through their means was nigh at hand, but also to mark and ponder the peril of men's souls, and how that the ignorant people, by their seduction, was fallen into that frantic imagination, that they more feared the Pope and his decrees, which are but vanity, than God himself and his law, which are most righteous and eternal. This man, therefore, of a fervent and burning zeal that he bare to the wealth of the commonalty, brake out and touched these hypocrites, in a little treatise, which he called The Supplication of Beggars, willing that we should give the abundance of our riches unto the poor, to whom it is due by the law of God, and that we should no longer suffer ourselves to be despoiled and robbed of a sight of sturdy lubbers, which under a false cloak of virtue and prayer, deceive the poor of their living, and both the poor and the rich of their souls' health, if credence be given unto them.

Simon Fish the maker of the book of the Supplication of Beggars.

Our riches are to be bestowed on the poor.

And where these wily foxes would have pretended the cloak of purgatory, affirming that it were due unto them, because they pray for their friends' souls that they might come to rest; he answered unto that point preventing their objection, and proved that either there could be no such purgatory, or else that the Pope were a merciless tyrant, which (as he saith himself) may deliver them from thence, and will not except he have

Either there is no purgatory, else the Pope is merciless.

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Whereat M. More first began to fume against such as deny purgatory.

money. At this point began M. More to fume, and took upon himself to be proctor for purgatory, (I will not say that he was hired thereto of our spiritualty, although many men dare swear it,) and to confirm his purpose, he wrested sore the Scriptures, and triumpheth also that the very miscreants and idolaters believe that there is a purgatory. He addeth thereto (to establish his matter withal) that there is no man which believeth that there is a God, and that the soul of man is immortal, but he must needs grant that there is a purgatory.

Rastell followeth M. More.

There took Rastell his hold, which is a Printer, dwelling at Paul's Gate in London, and of Master More's alliance, which also coveteth to counterfeit his kinsman, although the beams of his brains be nothing so radiant nor his conveyance so commendable in the eyes of the wise. Notwithstanding this, Rastell hath enterprised to dilate this matter, and hath divided it into three Dialogues, imagining that two men dispute this matter by natural reason and philosophy, secluding Christ and all scripture. The one of them (that should dispute this matter) he calleth Gingemin, and feigneth him to be a Turk, and of Mahomet's law. The second he nameth Comingo, an Almany, and of Christ's faith. And he maketh the Turk to teach the Christian man what he should believe.

The names of the disputers in the matter of purgatory.

The sum and contents of Rastell's three dialogues.

The first Dialogue goeth about to prove by reason that there is a God, which is merciful and righteous. The second intendeth to prove, that the soul of a man is immortal. Against these two dialogues I will not dispute, partly because this treatise should not be over long and tedious, and partly because that those two points, which he there laboureth to prove, are such as no Christian man will deny; (although many of his probations are so slender, that they may well be improved.) But as concerning his third Dialogue, wherein he would prove purgatory, it is wholly injurious unto the blood of Christ, and the destruction of all Christian faith, if

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men were so mad as to believe his vain persuasions. And therefore I thought expedient to compare this third dialogue with all the deceitful reasons unto the true light and pure word of God, that at the least Rastell himself might perceive his own blind ignorance, and return again into the right way. And if any man have been deceived through his book, (as I trust there are but few, except they be very ignorant,) that they may repent with him and glorify God for his inestimable mercy, which hath sent his light into this world to disclose and expel their dark and blind ignorancy, that they may see his ways and walk in them, praising the Lord eternally. Amen.

THE FIRST BOOK,

WHICH IS AN ANSWER UNTO RASTELL'S DIALOGUE.

An answer to Rastell's dialogue.

THERE is no man as I think that hath a natural wit, but he will grant me that this book of Rastell's making is either true or false. If it be false, then, howsoever it seem to agree with natural reason, it is not to be allowed; if it be true, then must we approve it. Natural reason must be ruled by Scripture. If natural reason conclude against the Scripture, so is it false; but if it be agreeing to Scripture, then is it to be heard.

Rastell's book is either true or false.

If natural reason conclude against the Scripture, then is natural reason false.

Of this I may conclude, that if Rastell's book be agreeing to Scripture, then is it true, and to be allowed; if it determine contrary to the Scripture, then is it false, and to be abhorred, howsoever it seem to agree with natural reason.

Now is there no Christian man but he believeth

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surely that if Christ had not died for our sins we should all have been damned perpetually, and never have entered into the joys of heaven, which thing is easy to be proved, for Paul saith, (Rom. v.) As through one man's sin, that is Adam, ensued death in all men unto condemnation; even so through one man's righteousness, which is Christ, came righteousness in all men unto the justification of life. Also, (John xi.) It is necessary that one man die for the people, that all the people perish not. So that we had been condemned and had perished perpetually, if Christ had not died for us. But Rastell, with his Turk Gingemin, exclude Christ, and know not of his death, wherefore all the reasons that they can make unto doomsday, can never prove purgatory, (except they imagine that we must first go to purgatory, and then after to hell;) for this is a plain conclusion, that without Christ, (whom they exclude) we can never come to heaven: what fondness were it then to invent a purgatory. Now may you see that Rastell's book is fully answered, and lieth already in the dirt, and that his third dialogue is all false and injurious unto the blood of Christ. As for the first and second dialogue, although there be some errors both against divinity and all good philosophy; yet will I pass them over, for they are not so blasphemous against God and his Christ as the third is.

Rom. v.

John xi.

2. Rastell's book clearly and quickly confounded.

Notwithstanding, I will not thus leave his book, although I might full well, but I will declare unto you what solutions he maketh to these seven weak reasons, (which he hath propounded himself,) for he avoideth them so slenderly, that if a man had any doubt of purgatory before, it would make him swear on a book that there were none at all. Besides that, it hath not one solution, but there are in it certain points repugnant unto Scripture, so that it is great shame that any Christian man should print it, and much more shame that it should be printed with the King's privilege.

Rastell beaten to the wall.

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The first and chiefest reason that moveth this man (yea and all other,) to affirm purgatory, is this, which he putteth both in the first chapter of his third dialogue, and also in the last. "Man (saith he) is made to serve and honour God; now if man be negligent about the commandments of God, and commit some venial sin, for which he ought to be punished by the justice of God, and die suddenly without repentance, and have not made sufficient satisfaction unto God here in the world, his soul ought neither immediately to come into the glorious place of heaven, because it is somewhat defouled with sin, neither ought it to go to hell unto eternal damnation; but by all good order of justice, that soul must be purged in another place to make satisfaction for those offences, that it may afterward be received into the glorious place of heaven. And so, by the justice of God, there must needs be a purgatory."

The first and chief reason made for purgatory. Rastell.

Forsooth, this reason hath some appearance of truth and the similitude of wisdom, howbeit, in deed it is nothing but man's imagination and phantasy; for if we compare it unto God's word, then vanisheth it away. But we regard not the word of the Lord, and therefore chanceth even the same thing unto us, that happened before unto the children of Israel. (Psalm lxxxi.) My people regarded not my voice, and Israel gave no heed unto me: therefore let I them go after the appetites of their own hearts. They shall wander in their own imaginations. Now what go they about in this their invention and imagination of purgatory, but to ponder the justice of God in the balance of man's justice, saying, It is no reason that we should enter into heaven, which have not here satisfied unto God for our iniquity, except that we should be tormented and purified in another place. We were surely in evil taking if God were of man's complexion, which remitteth the fault and reserveth the pain. Nay, nay, Christ is not greedy to be avenged. He thirsteth not after our blood, but suf-

Answer to the first argument.

Ps. lxxxi.

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fered all torments in his own body to deliver us from the pains that we had deserved. But seeing they think their reason so strong and invincible, I will confute it with one question, that they shall not know whither to turn them. But first, I will ground me upon this scripture. St. Paul writeth (1 Thess. iv.) on this manner: We that live and are remaining in the coming of the Lord (unto judgment,) shall not come near they that sleep; for the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, and the voice of the archangel and trump of God. And the dead in Christ shall arise first, then shall we which live and remain be caught up with them also in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Now hearken to my question. Those men that shall be found alive at the last day, (for as it was in the time of Noah, even so shall the last day come upon us unawares, and as a thief in the night, (Matt. xxiv.)—those men I speak of, shall any of them be saved or not? There is no man that liveth but he may well say his *Pater noster*, of the which one part is, Forgive us, Lord, our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; therefore is no man pure and without all sin. And this confirmeth St. John, saying, If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. (John i.) What remedy now? shall they all be damned? There is no doubt but some of them shall not be very evil, although they have not made sufficient satisfaction unto God in this world, and they ought not to go unto hell to everlasting damnation, (as your own reason proveth,) and then shall there be no purgatory to purge and punish them. Besides that, if there were a purgatory at the time, yet could they not be cast into it, for all shall be done in the twinkling of an eye, (1 Cor. xv.) and they shall be caught up to meet the Lord. (1 Thes. iv.) Is God not as just then as he was before? Will he not

1 Thes. iv.

Question.

Matt. xxiv.

The confutation of Rastell's first and chief argument.

1 John i.

1 Cor. xv.

1 Thes. iv.

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have punished as well then as before? Now see you no evasion for all your subtle imaginations, for they are not pure and without spot (as you say,) except they make satisfaction themselves unto God. But they must be without spot or wrinkle that shall enter into heaven, as Rastell himself doth prove in the ninth chapter of his third dialogue. Howbeit, I regard not his testimony, but the Scripture affirmeth that to be true, as Paul saith, (Ephes. i. and v.) Now since they must be pure, even without spot or wrinkle, that shall enter into heaven, and these persons are yet spotted with sin, and have neither place nor space to purge them in; you must needs conclude, whether you will or not, that they must all be damned, and yet you think that unreasonable too. Eph. i. v.

See whither your arguments of natural reason bring you. But what saith the Scripture? verily, Paul (1. Thes. iv.) espied another way, for he saith, And so shall we ever be with the Lord; and not damned. Of this may we evidently conclude, that some shall be saved, although they be sinners, and never come in purgatory, (there taketh Rastell a fall and all his fautors,) and since God is as just and merciful now as he shall be then, why shall we go more in purgatory than they? But mark, I pray you, how properly that substantial reason, wherewith they go about to establish purgatory, concludeth, which condemneth into hell so many thousands, yea and even them whom Paul affirmeth to be saved. And yet at the beginning it seemed very reasonable. Rastell overthrown in his own turn.

Now have I proved you sufficiently that this their reason can prove no purgatory, for as I said, there shall sinners enter into heaven and never come in purgatory. Here, peradventure, you be desirous to know how God's justice is pacified; for all sin, by the justice of God, must needs be punished. Now can the world espy no punishment here, and therefore they thought it neces-

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sary to imagine a purgatory to purge and punish sin. Here answer I with St. Paul.

3. Heb. i. Christ, the Son of God, being the brightness of his glory and very image of his substance, bearing up all things with the word of his power, hath in his own person purged our sins, and is set on the right hand of God. Behold the true purgatory and consuming fire, which hath fully burnt up and consumed our sins, and hath for ever pacified the Father's wrath towards us. Mark how he saith, that Christ, in his own person, hath purged our sins. If thou yet seek another purgation, then are you injurious unto the blood of Christ; for if thou thought his blood sufficient, then wouldst thou seek no other purgatory, but give him all the thanks and all the praise of thy whole health and salvation, and rejoice whole in the Lord.

Christ is the only purgatory and purger of our sins.

4. Eph. v. Paul writeth (Ephes. v.) on this manner: Christ loved the congregation. And what did he for it, sent he it into purgatory there to be cleansed? Nay verily, but gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it and cleanse it in the fountain of water, through the word, to make it unto himself a glorious congregation, without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blame. Now if Christ, by these means, have sanctified it, and made it without spot, wrinkle, and blame, then were it against all right to cast it into purgatory; wherefore, I must needs conclude, that either Paul saith not true, which affirmeth, that Christ hath so purged his congregation, or else, that Christ is unrighteous if he cast them into purgatory which are without spot, wrinkle, and blame, in his sight.

A fruitful and excellent argument.

5. Eph. i. Christ chose us in him before the beginning of the world, that we might be holy and without spot in his sight. (Ephes. i.) If, through his choosing and election, we be without spot in his sight, alas! what blind unthankfulness is that to suppose that he will yet have us tormented in purgatory!

Christ by his election doth purge and cleanse us.

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Peradventure, every man perceiveth not what this meaneth, that we are righteous in his sight, seeing that every man is a sinner. (1 John i.) Therefore, I will briefly declare the meaning of the Apostle. This is, first, a clear case, that there liveth no man upon earth without sin. Notwithstanding, all they that were chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world was laid, are without spot of sin in the sight of God. (Ephes. i.) So that they are both sinners and righteous. If we consider the imperfection of our faith and charity; if we consider the conflict of the flesh and the spirit; (Gal. v.) if we consider our rebellious members, which are sold under sin, (Rom. vii.) then are we grievous sinners. And, contrarywise, if we believe that of mercyable favour, God gave his most dear Son to redeem us from our sin; if we believe that he imputeth not our sins unto us, but that his wrath is pacified in Christ and his blood; if we believe that he hath freely given us his Christ, and with him all things, so that we be destitute in no gift, (Rom. viii.) then are we righteous in his sight, and our conscience at peace with God, not through ourselves, but through our Lord Jesus Christ. (Rom. v.) So mayest thou perceive that thou art a sinner in thyself, and yet art thou righteous in Christ, for through him is not thy sin imputed nor reckoned unto thee. And so are they, to whom God imputeth not their sins, blessed, righteous, without spot, wrinkle, or blame. (Rom. iv. Psalm. xxxi.) and, therefore, will he never thrust them into purgatory.

6.

1 John i.

Eph. i.

Gal. v.

Rom. vii.

Rom. viii.

Rom. v.

Rom. iv.

Psal. xxxi.

Paul saith there is no difference, for all have sinned and lack the glory which before God is allowed, but they are justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus. (Rom. iii.) What say you now, shall they yet go into purgatory? Call ye that justification freely by his grace, to lie in the pains of purgatory? Surely, that were a new kind of speech, which, I think, Paul never understood.

Justification freely doth exclude purgatory.

Rom. iii.

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Objection. Peradventure, some man will think mine arguments to be of small pith, and to dissolve them by a distinction, saying; It is truth that God hath so purged and cleansed us from all our iniquities, nevertheless, his mercy, purging and forgiveness, have only purified us from the fault and crime, but not from the pain which is due to the crime.

An answer to the first objection. To this objection I answer, that if God of his mercy and through the blood of his son Jesus, have not remitted the pain due unto that crime, then shall we all be damned; for the pain due unto every disobedience that is against God, is eternal damnation. And, therefore, if this pain were not forgiven us, then are we still under condemnation, and so was Christ's blood shed in vain, and could save no man.

Objection. If they will say that this everlasting pain is not wholly forgiven us, but that it is altered into the temporal pain of purgatory, out of which the Pope may deliver them by his pardon, for else have they no evasion at all, then may we soon confute them, and that by divers reasons.

1. An answer to the second objection. First, that their words are nothing but even their own imagination, for they cannot confirm their sayings by the Scripture, neither ought we to accept any thing as an article of our faith which is not approved by God's word; for we may neither decline unto the right hand nor unto the left, but only do that the Lord commandeth us. (Deut. iv. v. xii. xiii.)

2. The Pope selleth Christ's merits for money. And again, if a man should ask them by what authority the Pope giveth such pardon; they answer, that it is out of the merits of Christ's passion. And so at last they are compelled to grant, even against themselves, that Christ hath not only deserved for us the forgiveness of the crime, but also of the pain. If Christ have deserved all for us, who giveth the Pope authority to reserve a part of his deservings from me, and to sell me Christ's merits for money?

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Besides that, every Christian man ought to apply unto God all things which should employ his honour as far forth as the Scripture will suffer. Now, seeing it is more unto the honour of God that he should deliver us in his blood, both from the crime and from the pain, and also not repugnant unto the Scripture, but that he hath released us from the pain as well as from the sin; for what intent should we be so unkind as to despoil him of this great honour, and, without any authority of Scripture, imagine that he hath not delivered us from the pain as well as from the sin?

3. We may not rob God of his honour.

Moreover, if he should reserve the pain, then were it no full remission and forgiveness: but what blasphemy is that, to think that Christ's blood was not sufficient to give full remission unto his faithful?

4. Blasphemy to say Christ's blood is not full remission for our sins.

Furthermore, for what intent should the pain be reserved; to satisfy towards God for their offences? Nay verily, for all men living are not able to satisfy towards God for one sin. Neither are all the pains of hell able to purge one sin, or satisfy for it: for then at the length the damned souls should be delivered out of hell.

5. There is no satisfaction for sin, but Christ's death.

Finally, I think that there was never any temporal punishment instituted of God to be any satisfaction for sin; but the use of all temporal pains, and chiefest cause why they were ordained, is this:—

6.

Temporal pains are profitable for the commonwealth, that they may be examples to learn the unfaithful (which else fear not God,) that they may at the least, for fear of punishment, abstain from committing like offences; for if their sin were unpunished, then should all vice reign to the utter subversion of the commonwealth.

1. Why temporal pains are ordained.

They are also profitable for the faithful, for they try and purify the faith of God's elect, and subdue and mortify their carnal members, that they may be the more able to serve their brethren, and to withstand the vehement assaults of temptation which are ever at hand;

2.

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and lest they should wax proud and boast themselves for those gifts which they have received of God.

Furthermore, they set out and advance the glory of God. For after that we be put in remembrance and made to feel our frail nature that so continually displeaseth God our Father; then have we occasion to ponder and compare this transitory pain which we here suffer with those enormous trespasses that we have committed, and to espy the infinite mercy and favour of God, and even in our adversities to be compelled to praise God, our merciful and tender Father, which scourgeth us so favourably for those grievous offences that have deserved a thousand times more punishment.

Worldly pains cannot sufficiently punish sin.

Howbeit, (to say truth) there is no man that can take any such profit of them, that men feign to be punished in purgatory. For we neither see it nor hear it, neither have we any mention made of it in Scripture, that we may be sure that it is so. Now since we have no infallible evidence, but only phantastical imaginations, it is plain enough that there was no such thing ordained, neither to advance God's honour, nor yet to the profit of the commonalty, or else of God's elect, for then I am sure that Christ and all his Apostles would not have forgotten to have remembered us of it.

Scripture maketh no mention of purgatory.

Now let us see some of Rastell's reasons, which he saith that fond fellows lay for themselves to prove that there should be no purgatory.

Rastell's first argument.

"They say, (saith Rastell) that contrition, which some call repentance, is that which is the very payment and satisfaction for sin; and they say that when a man committeth a sin, and after is repentant therefore, that God of his goodness doth forgive him, and that that repentance is the only satisfaction that God would have made and done for that sin. And then, since a man by such repentance hath made such payment and satisfaction for his sin as God would have to be made therefore, if then

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that man should go to purgatory, and have a new punishment after his death, that repentance that he had before should be but void."

Forsooth, I think that neither Rastell ever heard any such reason, neither yet that any man ever would be so fond as to say that this argument confuted purgatory, except it was one that was clean purged of his wit before. But whose reason soever it be, whether Rastell's, or any other man's, let us lay it unto that touchstone, that is, the Scripture, to prove whether it be gold or copper, upright or counterfeit, truth or untruth. And to be short, the first proposition and major of his reason, is this, that contrition or repentance is the very payment and satisfaction for sin. That is a stark lie to begin withal. For if we, by all our contrition, repentance, sacrifices, and works, (I add more to help him) can fully pay and satisfy for our sins, then is Christ dead in vain, and might full well have spared his blood. This can no man deny, but he that will set at nought both Christ and all the Scripture. Now mark how he proceedeth. "And they say, (saith Rastell) that when a man committeth a sin, and after is repentant therefore, that God of his goodness doth forgive him, and that that repentance is the only satisfaction that God would have to be made and done for that sin."

Frith.

A fond argument.

The major of Rastell's argument is a lie.

Rastell.

That is the next part of his argument, and containeth two lies at once chained together; for where he saith that "when a man committeth a sin, and after is repentant therefore, that God of his goodness doth forgive him;" you must first consider that neither he nor his Turk Gingemin know any thing of Christ. Now, if it were not for Christ's sake, all the repentance that man can imagine could not move the goodness of God to forgive one sin. But by his justice (where Christ's death hath no effect,) he must needs condemn. The second lie is this, that "that repentance is the only satisfaction that God would have made and done for that sin:" for if

Frith.

Christ's death only is the cause of the forgiveness of our sins.

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this be true, then is our faith false. For our faith holdeth, that if Christ had not died for us, we had all perished. Then proceedeth he, as though all that he had said before were true, on this manner. "And then (saith he) since a man by such repentance hath made such payment and satisfaction for his sin, as God would have to be made therefore; if then that man should go to purgatory and have a new punishment after his death, that repentance that he had before should be but void." Even just if heaven fell, we should catch larks.

Rastell.

Rastell's fond argument beaten to the ground.

Frith. Now let us see how properly he answereth unto his own question. And you shall find more blasphemies against Christ in his answer than preceded in the argument. Think you this man hath not taken great pains?

Three lies at once. To prepare himself unto his matter, he bringeth in three lies in the first chapter. The first is, he saith, that "only the soul suffereth, and not the body," and maketh Comingo, whom he feigneth to be a Christian man, to grant it well and wisely. Forsooth, this is new learning indeed. For if this be true, then Christ's body suffered no harm, neither when he was scourged, neither when he was crowned with thorns, neither when he was nailed on the cross. But I report me unto your own selves, if you cut but your finger, feel ye no pain? and yet I think ye will not say that ye cut your soul. From henceforward, if you see a poor man shivering for cold in the street, you may bid him walk a knave, and bear him in hand that he feeleth no harm, for as this man saith his body feeleth no harm, and I promise you of honesty that his soul catcheth no cold. But what need I to make more words of this matter, since you may make experience yourselves. The second lie is this, that "man was created of God, to do him honour and service." For if a man may say the truth, man was not made for the intent to be a servant and do service. For God hath no need of our service, but was in as full honour and as well served before the world began as he

What folly is in natural reason to reason against the Scripture.

A good conclusion.

God's honour consisteth not in our service.

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now is; so that his honour, joy, and service, is whole in himself, and is by us neither employed nor diminished.

But the cause why he made man was this, that man should have the fruition of his joy and honour. Such was his goodness; he made us not that he should have any pleasure by us, but that we should have pleasure by him. The third lie is this, that "no other creature here in earth doth service and honour to God but only man." This is also a stark lie, for all creatures honour God through their creation and being, for the whole glory of their creation redoundeth into the honour of God, and what service can they do better than so to glorify God? Neither yet letteth he them be idle, but worketh through them marvellous things, and all to his glory. Fire at his command came down from heaven, and burnt Sodom and Gomorrah. (Genesis xix.) Was that no honour and service? He made a strong and burning wind to dry up and divide the Red Sea. (Exod. xiv.) At his voice the wind and sea were obedient, and waxed calm. (Matt. viii.) Was this no honour and service? But a man may see that his wit was so purged in purgatory, that he hath not one drop left to espy any truth at all.

Why man was made.

God made us not for his pleasure but that we should receive pleasure by him.

Gen. xix.

Exod. xiv.

Matt. viii.

But yet let us see how he answereth the argument, and severally examine every part. The first part was, that contrition or repentance is the very payment and satisfaction for sin. To this he answereth, "that when thou takest repentance and askest mercy of God for thine offence; no man ought to be so foolish to think that God should be restrained or compelled, but that it is at his liberty whether he will forgive or no."

Rastell.

Another of Rastell's foolish arguments.

I would be loth to move the man, and ask him what repentance is? for surely, as far as I can gather by his words, he wotteth nothing what it meaneth. But I pray you see how substantially he answereth the argument. It argueth that contrition or repentance is the very payment and satisfaction for sin. And to that answereth he neither yea nor nay, for fear of trapping,

Frith.

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(albeit the words are clean against Scripture.) But he answereth, that when thou takest repentance and askest mercy of God for thy sin, no man ought to be so foolish to think that God should be constrained or compelled to forgive thee. But for all that, this is sure enough, that if repentance be the very payment and satisfaction for sin, (as the argument falsely supposeth,) that God of his justice must needs forgive me when I repent, for then have I wholly paid him his, and may require my right even by his justice. If thou object that God were then restrained and compelled, I answer nay. But it were rather a great pleasure unto him to forgive all men, if so they could make satisfaction unto his justice by repentance, for he rejoiceth not in punishing us. Then added Rastell, "that it is at his liberty always to execute justice or mercy at his pleasure." To that I answer, that he hath no pleasure to do against his Scripture, but therein hath he fully opened his pleasure. His pleasure is to forgive freely all them that believe in his son Christ Jesus, and to condemn them that believe not. If Rastell mean on this fashion, then grant we him; but if he understand that God taketh his pleasure and liberty in ministering his mercy and justice, so that he may condemn him which hath given the very payment and full satisfaction of sin, (as it seemeth he should mean, seeing he denieth not the first part of the argument,) and again save him that believed not, then will I say that Rastell runneth riot and taketh his own pleasure; for God hath no power against himself and his Scripture; but look what he hath promised, and that he will perform. And therefore in this can Rastell prove no purgatory, for all that he groundeth him on so many lies.

Repentance is no satisfaction for our sin, but Christ's death only.

Rastell.

Frith.

God forgiveth for Christ's sake, and not otherwise.

Rastell groundeth him upon lies and imaginations.

But yet is it necessary that we declare unto you what is the very satisfaction for sin, and then shall we see whether purgatory may stand with it or not.

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Paul saith, (Heb. x.) that Christ with one oblation hath satisfied for our sins, for we are hallowed (saith he) by the offering of the body of Christ Jesus, which was once done upon the cross, and with that one oblation hath he made them which are hallowed perfect for ever. Now, if this be true that we are made perfect by the oblation of his own body upon the cross, then is purgatory in vain; for if he have so purged us, what need we another purgation? If we be made perfect through him, what need we after this life to be purged? If he have satisfied for us, why seek we another satisfaction? why leave we the fountain of living water, and seek our refreshing out of polluted pools, and especially since the headspring is so ready at hand?

8. Heb. x.

Christ's merits utterly setteth aside purgatory.

If we must make satisfaction unto God for our sins, then would I know why Christ died: think ye that his blood was shed in vain? This is, no doubt, if there were any other way unto the Father than through Christ's blood, whether purgatory, or sacrifices, or what thou canst imagine, then was his death not necessary. But, alas! what unkindness is that, so to deject the precious blood of Christ, and to set his gracious favour at nought? If there be any means by the which I may satisfy for my sins, I need no redeemer, nor yet any favour, but may call for my right and duty. And so were there no need of Christ's blood, mercy, and favour. But what may be more blasphemous unto Christ's blood and his free redemption?

9.

There is no means to purge us but only the death of Christ.

Christ is able, fully and for ever, to save them that come unto God by him, seeing He ever liveth to make intercession for us. (Heb. vii.) If he be able, fully and for ever to save us, why run we from him and seek another purgatory? If he make intercession for us, then is it like that he is no cruel stepfather towards us, but rather that by all means he seeketh our health: why fly we from him that offereth himself so lovingly to us?

10.

Christ is able fully to save all that cometh to God by him.

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why dare we not put our trust in him, which, when we were his enemies, vouchsafed to die for us, and to re-
Rom. v. concile us unto his father? (Rom. v.)

Now maketh he Comingo his almany, to bring in an example, and in confuting that he thinketh to win the field. But we will show you that his similitude is nothing like indeed. But if he will imagine that it be like, then doth he not confute it, but maketh it stronger.
Rastell. The example is this: "If I owe thee an hundred pounds of true debt, and humbly desire thee to forgive, discharge, and pardon me, and thou make me a clear release thereof, then am I not bound to make thee any
Frith. other payment or satisfaction." To prove that the similitude is naught, and nothing like to the purpose, is very easy. For the purpose and first part of the argument was this: that "contrition or repentance is the very
Rastell's similitude is not good. payment and satisfaction for sin." Therefore, if he will have it like, then must he suppose that this humble request of forgiveness, discharge, and pardon, is the very payment and satisfaction for that hundred pounds, and, therefore, upon that should they first have agreed, or else can the example serve for nothing. Now if he make them like, and imagine that this humble desire or forgiveness is the very payment and satisfaction for that one hundred pounds, then hath he made a rod for his own breech, for he shall never be able to avoid it. But let us see his answer.

Rastell. "In the case that you have put," (saith Rastell,) "if you desire me forgiveness of that one hundred pounds, yet is it at my liberty and gentleness, whether I will forgive thee the whole one hundred pounds or else part
Frith. thereof." Well hit, Master John. If I should pay you that one hundred pounds in good current money, were it yet in your liberty and gentleness whether you would forgive me a part or the whole thereof? Truly, I would be loth to be one of your debtors, if you be so
Major. hard to your creditors. Belike you have studied some

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cautel in the law; for I never heard but that if I owed you an hundred pounds, and gave you the very payment and satisfaction thereof, then should I be clean discharged, whether ye would yea or nay, and neither need to thank your liberality nor gentleness. But, in your case, the request and desire of forgiveness is, and must be, the very payment and satisfaction of the hundred pounds, or else it is nothing like the argument; so that you may put your similitude in your purse till another place and time, where it shall better agree; wherefore I must needs conclude, that if I desire forgiveness (this standing, that the said desire of forgiveness is the very payment and satisfaction of that hundred pounds, for else, as I said, it is nothing like,) I am clean discharged, and need neither to thank your liberality nor gentleness.

Minor.

Conclusion. Rastell's similitude clearly confounded.

Now, where you object the recompense for the loss of time and damages, hurt and hindrance, that you have had, for the nonpayment of that hundred pounds, and so forth, that cannot be applied unto God and the remission of our sins. For there is no such loss of time, damage, hurt or hindrance, towards God; for we neither hurt nor hinder him, although we never ask forgiveness, but be damned perpetually. So that it is our profit to ask it, and our hurt and hindrance if we ask it not. If I owe a man twenty pounds, the longer I keep it, the more is my profit and the more his loss. But God receiveth us young; he receiveth us at man's estate; he receiveth us old; and thinketh it no loss or hurt then to receive us, for he saith by his Prophet, The wickedness of the wicked shall not hurt him in what day soever he turn from his ungodliness. (Ezek. xxxiii.) But it should surely hurt him if he should broil in purgatory for it. Wherefore either there is no such painful purgatory, or else cannot I see how the Prophet, which speaketh these words in the person of God, should be true.

Our doings can make God neither better nor worse.

11. Eze. xxxiii.

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12. Ez. xxxvi. If Christ have purged us clean, what needeth another purgatory.

I shall pour upon you clean water, (saith God the Father,) and you shall be cleansed from all your iniquities. (Ezek. xxxvi.) If we be purged from all, what need another purgatory? Need we more purging when all are cleansed?

13. Jer. xxxiii.

I will surely convert Judah and turn Israel unto me; and I will purify them from all their iniquities wherewith they have offended me. (Jer. xxxiii.) If he purify them from all, what should they do in purgatory?

14. Jer. xxxi. Heb. viii.

I will be merciful unto their wickedness, and their sins will I no more remember. (Jer. xxxi. Heb. viii.) If he will not remember our sins any more, then may we be sure that he will not fry us in the fire of purgatory for our sins.

The second argument.

Now, let us see his second argument, which is in the fourth chapter, and is surely fond; howbeit his solution is yet more foolish. The sum of his argument is this:—

Rastell.

"Man was made and ordained to have an infinite being, therefore after this mortality and death he must have infinite joy or infinite pain."

Frith.

I will put you a like argument. A man is ordained in this world to be a king or a subject, therefore after he is born he is ever a king, or else ever a subject. Now may this be false, for peradventure he may be born a subject, and after made king, or else he may be born a king and after deposed and made a subject. Therefore this argument holdeth not formally. But it holdeth on this manner: as I should say to an ape, thou must needs be an ape or an ass, which now is true? But if I should say the very same words to M. John Rastell, I think he would be angry, and say that it were false. And I suppose our schoolmen will say, that he lieth, and put him an example of the infants that die without Christendom, which (as the schoolmen say,) shall never have joy nor pain. But I

Rastell's second argument confuted.

A nipping conclusion.

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will grant him his argument, to see how properly he will confute it.

Now mark his answer, which standeth in the fifth chapter.

"There are degrees in sins; some sins are great and some greater, and therefore must there be degrees in punishment; some punishment is great and some greater." Well, for your pleasure I am content to grant you this too. But else were it a matter worthy disputation. What now?

Rastell.

Frith.

"When that a man" (saith Rastell,) "here in earth hath committed a great sin and offence, and taken repentance, whereby the sin is forgiven," (mark that he being ignorant of Christ, saith, through repentance the sin is forgiven,) "and yet hath not taken such sufficient repentance therefore, nor had any sufficient punishment which should make a full payment and satisfaction for that sin, and dieth before any condign or full satisfaction made; God must then of his righteousness ordain a place of purgatory, where his soul shall have a further punishment, to make a condign and full satisfaction for that sin, and so to be purged and purified before it shall be able and worthy to be admitted to receive the eternal joy in heaven."

Rastell.

Rastell's fond argument to prove a purgatory.

First, brethren, you must grant, that we have a Christ or no Christ; a redeemer or no redeemer; a justifier or no justifier. If there be none such (as Rastell with his Turk Gingemin suppose,) then all the repentance in the world could not satisfy for one sin; but whosoever committeth a sin should be damned therefore. So that Rastell speaketh and sayeth all in diminutives; for where he should of truth espy hell, there espieth he but purgatory; and where he should say, that all sinners (if they stick not to Christ's blood,) shall be damned eternally, there saith he that they shall be punished in purgatory. And, to be short, if Rastell

Frith.

Rastell's second argument clearly confuted.

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say truth, then is Christ dead in vain. If he say not truth, why stick you to his reason? But peradventure thou that knowest Christ wilt say, (as many do,) that Christ's death and redemption serveth thee but for original sin, or, at most, for those sins that thou committedst before baptism. To that I answer with St. John:

An answer to an objection.

15. 1 John ii. Children, this do I write unto you, that ye sin not. And if any man sin, yet we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, which is righteous: and he it is that obtaineth grace for our sins; not for our sins only, but also for the sins of all the world. To whom wrote St. John this epistle? Think you that he wrote not unto the Christian and them that were already baptised? And yet he said, If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, which is righteous: and he it is that obtaineth grace for our sins. Lo, he adnumbereth himself also; for he saith, We have an advocate; and saith again, for our sins. Ye may see that he meaneth not only original sin, neither yet the sins done before baptism; for I doubt not but he was baptised when he wrote this epistle; and yet said he, If we sin, (meaning after baptism, or whensoever it be) we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ. This is St. John's learning. He knew no other remedy if we fell into sin, but only Christ. Notwithstanding, our prelates have practised further, for they say, if any man sin he shall lie in the pains of purgatory, until he be delivered thence by mass-pence, the Pope's pardon, or certain other suffrages; but not without money, you may be sure.

16. John xiii. Christ saith, No man cometh unto the Father but through me; (John xiii.) for, saith he, I am the way. Yes, Lord, our prelates have espied another way, which although it be more painful unto the poor, yet is it more profitable for prelates.

17. Matt. ix. Come unto me all ye that labour and are laden, and I will ease you, saith our Saviour Christ Jesus. (Matt. xi.)

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Wilt thou send us, Lord, into purgatory? Forsooth there is little ease, if the fire be so hot as our prelates have feigned it. Purgatory pick purse.

It is even I that put out thine iniquities for mine own sake, saith God the Father, and thy sins will I no more remember. (Isaiah, xliii.) *Ergo*, then he putteth them not away for broiling in purgatory. He addeth also, that he will no more remember our sins: call ye that no remembrance to cast us into purgatory for them? 18. Isa. xliii. Broiling in purgatory putteth not away sin.

Whom God predestinated, them he called, and whom he called, them he justified; and what did he with them then? Did he cast them in purgatory, there to be cleansed? Forsooth the apostle maketh no mention thereof, but addeth immediately, Whom he justified them he glorified. (Rom. viii.) Wherefore let not us put such obstacles, and be unkind unto the gracious favour of God. 19. Those whom God calleth he justifieth and glorifieth. Rom. viii.

Besides that Paul forbiddeth us to be careful for them that sleep (that is to say, for the dead) as they that have no hope. But surely if he had known of any purgatory, he would have been careful for them, since they feign them in such miserable torments. Now seeing he had occasion to make mention of the dead, and spake not one word of purgatory, it is plain enough that he knew nothing of it, or else was he very negligent to overhyppe it. But yet had I lever say that purgatory were but a phantasy of man's imagination, than to ascribe such forgetfulness or negligence unto that apostle. 20. 1 Thes. iv. Purgatory is but a fancy of man's imagination.

THE third reason that Rastell allegeth, is in the sixth chapter; the sum is this: "There are degrees of joy in heaven, and degrees of pain in hell; and therefore may God pass every man and give him according to his deserts, either more or less, and never need purgatory." Well, let us grant these degrees for Rastell's The third argument.

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pleasure, although the question be so disputable, that I am sure he cannot defend it. What followeth on this? forsooth he bringeth in proper examples, if they could serve for the purpose. But let us pass over to his solution, which is in the end of the seventh chapter.

Rastell. "When a man" (saith Rastell) "is infected with a great mortal sin, and so depart, then his soul ought not to do service in heaven unto God, because it is putrified with that foul sin. But if that man had taken the medicine of full repentance in his life, that medicine would have restored him again to his soul's health and

The solution of Rastell's third argument.

Frith. virtue." (But here you must remember that Christ is dead in vain; for if repentance be the medicine that restoreth again the health and virtue of the soul, what needeth Christ?) Now forth: "But if he have taken"

Rastell. (saith Rastell) "some repentance for that sin, and not sufficient, and had not sufficient time to make sufficient satisfaction therefore, yet by the taking of that medicine of repentance, that sin is expelled and gone, and the soul of that sickness and sin is clearly whole; but yet the spots and tokens of the sin, which is a deformity to the soul, do still remain, till the soul have a time to be purged from those tokens and spots, to make it pure and clean of that deformity."

Frith. This man is ever in one supposition, which is both false and injurious unto the precious blood of Christ. I wonder who taught him that conclusion, and why he granteth so soon unto it; for he would not have granted that there were a God, neither that the soul was immortal, (although they were both true) until he had proved it (as he thought himself) by good natural reason. But as for this that is stark false, (that is to say,) that repentance, while he excludeth Christ, doth satisfy for our sin, he never putteth in question, but granteth it by and by: belike the Turks have such an opinion. But let him go with his Turk, and let us Christian men grant nothing contrary to the Scripture,

Rastell's natural reason doth fully deceive both him and his Turk Gingemin.

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but ever captivate our reason unto that, for it is the infallible reason and wisdom of God, and passeth our reason far.

THE fourth reason is propounded in the eighth chapter, which is this: "That the soul unpurged may do some mean and low service to God in heaven, though it be not the highest and the best," which thing is false and against Scripture. (Ephes. v. Cant. iv.) But let us see what answer he maketh unto it. His answer beginneth in the ninth chapter, and the sum is this:

The fourth argument.
Ephes. v.
Cant. iv.
Rastell.

"Heaven is so pure and clean of nature, that it must expel all manner of impurity and uncleanness, neither can it suffer any thing therein that is of any manner uncleanly or evil, or other thing unpleasant. So now it followeth, that when a man hath committed a mortal sin, and after taketh repentance, by the which he is healed of the foul infirmity." (See how he harpeth all of one string, which is also so far out of tune, that I wonder how any man can abide him. For if I can heal mine infirmity through repentance, wherefore died Christ? "But yet (saith he) the spots and tokens remain for lack of full satisfaction." I answer that it remaineth every whit, sin, spots, tokens, and all together, except Christ have taken it from off us, through his death and bitter passion. Therefore, saith Rastell, "God of his justice may not condemn his soul to eternal pain in hell for that offence, which is purged and put away." Wherewith is it purged and put away?

Rastell's answer to his fourth argument.
Rastell.
Frith.
Rastell.

There is no remission of sin without blood. (Heb. ix.) If there be no remission without blood, what shall repentance do, where the blood of Christ is excluded? Yea, or what shall thy purgatory do, for there is no bloodshed. So is there nothing that taketh away sin but only the blood of Christ Jesus, shed for our redemption.

21. Frith. Heb. ix. Sin cannot be taken away but by the blood of Jesus Christ.

"And yet" (saith Rastell) "God by his justice, and by

Rastell.

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his discreet wisdom and goodness, ought not immediately to receive that soul into that clean and most pure place in heaven to accompany the pure angels, &c."

Frith. A merry conclusion of John Frith.

No marry, I warrant thee, be not afraid of that, for neither Gingemin thy companion, nor thou neither, shall enter in there, either immediately or mediately, if ye exclude Christ as ye have done hitherto; no, not if ye had taken all the repentance in the world, and would thereto imagine as many purgatories as will pesen into a monk's cowl.

22. John i. Heb. i. Ephes. i. 1 John, i. Rom. iv. No need of purgatory.

But it is Christ, the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world. (John i.) It is he that hath purged our sin, and now sitteth on the right hand of the Father. (Heb. i.) It is he that hath purged our sin, and hath made us in his own sight, and in the sight of his Father, without spot or wrinkle. (Ephes. i.) Albeit, in our own sight, we find ourselves sinners. (1 John, i.) But he maketh us blessed and righteous, and imputeth not our sins unto us. (Rom. iv.) Then what needeth purgatory?

The fifth argument. Rastell.

THE fifth argument that he bringeth against purgatory is touched in his tenth chapter; the sum is this: "It should seem convenient that this purgatory (if there were one) should be in earth; partly because the body which offendeth with the soul might be purged with the soul, and partly to be a good example to all men living, to put them in fear to do any like offence, and so should cause many to abstain from committing any such like offence and sin, or else where should purgatory be?"

Frith. How Rastell proveth that purgatory is upon the earth.

This reason hath no great pith. Notwithstanding, if it were well prosecuted, it would be too hard for Rastell to avoid it. For this is no formal argument; it is meet that the body which offendeth with the soul should be purged with the soul; *ergo*, purgatory must be upon the earth. For God may join the body and soul together again after they be departed, and so punish them toge-

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ther, although purgatory were not in earth, even wheresoever it be. And therefore thus methinketh it should well follow.

The body was fellow and partner with the soul in committing the crime and sin, and shall also be partaker of the glory which is prepared for them that love God. Wherefore, it is reason if the soul should be purged and punished in purgatory, that the body should also suffer with him in purgatory, feign the place of purgatory where you will, in heaven, in earth, or in hell. But wot ye what Rastell would here say unto me? forsooth even as he did in the first chapter of the third Dialogue; that is to say, he would stoutly affirm that "the body suffereth neither weal nor woe, joy nor pain, good nor evil, and therefore it needeth not go to purgatory." And by that reason it is folly that the body should go either to heaven or hell, for it neither feeleth pleasure nor pain: this is new learning indeed. But I think there is no Christian man so foolish as to believe him.

23.

Rastell's fond conclusion of his fifth argument.

And as for the second point, that it should be a good example to put men in fear of committing such trespasses, it were soon answered. For we ought not to abstain from evil because of the punishment that followeth the crime, but only for the love that we have to God, without any respect either of salvation or of damnation. If thou abstain for fear, so art thou under the law and under damnation. The law of God and the law of man are far unlike; for the law of man is fulfilled by the exterior act, although the heart be far from it. As if I owe a man twenty pounds, and be compelled by the law to pay him at a certain day; if I then pay, albeit mine heart be never so grudging and evil willing, yet have I fulfilled the law, so that there shall no process or sentence pass against me. But God's law requireth a thing to be done with a well-willing heart, and even for pure love. For if thou do it

We may not abstain from sin for fear but for love.

The law of God and the law of man doth greatly vary.

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for fear, or unwillingly, it shall be imputed unto thee for sin. If thou do it for fear, then workest thou not of love, but rather hatest both the thing that thou doest and also the law that constraineth thee unto it. And if thou do it unwillingly, then willest thou to do the contrary, and so wouldest thou that there were no such law, neither yet any God that should judge thee in so doing. And since God judgeth thee after thine heart and will, then must he needs condemn thee, for thou willest contrary unto his law and will; yea, and willest in thine heart contrary to that thou doest in thine outward deed.

The law of God requireth the heart and mind.

The law of man requireth the body and outward deeds.

Now let us see his solution which is in the eleventh chapter, and so foolish, that if it were not for the great length of the chapter, for loss of time, and for the more cost in printing, I would surely have answered unto it at length, even that he should have been ashamed of himself. But to be short, we will touch some of his words. The first part of the argument which he intendeth to answer to, is this: that "it should seem convenient that purgatory should be here on earth, because the body which offendeth with the soul should be purged with the soul." This reason is of no value, as I have showed you before. But what saith Rastell?

Rastell's foolish solution of his fifth argument.

"That reason" (saith Rastell,) "proveth not only that there is no purgatory, but also that there should be neither heaven nor hell. For if a man have lived so virtuously in earth, that he ought to be saved and go to the joys of heaven;" (let us pardon him this lie, for the Prophet saith that no man shall be justified in the sight of God, if he enter into judgment with us. Psalm cxliii.) "and yet did never meritorious act, but only when the soul was joined with the body, then should he never be rewarded, but here in earth while his soul is joined with the body." Here may ye perceive what Rastell thinketh of heaven and hell, even thus, that the body shall never come in heaven nor hell,

Rastell's solution.

Psa. cxliii.

Rastell's reason faileth him.

Frith.

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which point I will touch more largely anon. First, where Comingo in his argument saith, that it should seem convenient for purgatory to be upon earth, there, saith Rastell, that he would take away the liberty, prerogative, and authority of God. As by example, if I would say, it should seem convenient that the Bishop of London's palace should be in London, partly because it is the chiefest city of his diocese, and partly because it is nigh the court, whereto he may the better resort to get further promotion; there would Rastell say, by and by, that I took the Bishop's liberty, prerogative, and authority, that he might not set it where he would: belike this man hath drunk of a merry cup. He affirmeth also, that "this argument taketh away both heaven and hell." Why so? Because he supposeth it convenient that purgatory should be here upon earth. Albeit he say "it is convenient;" yet saith he not that "it must needs be." Nay, but there is another thing that Rastell's sore eyes cannot abide. What is that? verily, for he added, that it were most convenient that the body, which is partaker in committing the crime, should also be purged and punished with the soul. And that, as ye know, plucketh Rastell by the beard, for he went about to prove the contrary in the first chapter, that the body hath neither pain nor pleasure, &c. But how should this take away heaven and hell? forsooth on this manner. Rastell thinketh not that God can and will join the body again with the soul after this transitory life, that they may together receive joy or pain, for that passeth his natural philosophy. But thus he imagineth: "When the body and soul are once departed, then say they adieu for ever and a day. Therefore," (thinketh he,) "if God will punish them in hell together, or save them together in heaven, then he must take them while they are here living in earth." And so this supposition, that the body must suffer with the soul, (after Rastell's learning,) must prove that heaven and hell be

Rastell doth much abuse himself.

Rastell.

Frith.

Rastell is contrary to himself.

Rastell hath here a foul overthrow.

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here in earth, or else there can be none. See this learned man, that would prove purgatory by good philosophy.

The second cause, that purgatory should be a good example to the living, to put them in fear to do any like offence, is not solved of Rastell; but I have solved it before, and will yet satisfy you again, because Rastell leaveth it out. We have here in the world Moses and the Prophets, that is, the Old Testament; yea and also Christ and his Apostles, which we call the New Testament: now if we believe not these, then shall we not surely believe, although we had purgatory and hell too among us. And this may well be gathered of Christ's own words, (Luke xvi.) where he brought in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus; for the rich man being in pains, desired Abraham to send Lazarus unto his five brethren, to warn them that they might not come into that fire. Abraham answered again, that they had Moses and the Prophets; and added, let them hear them. Then said the rich man, Nay, Father Abraham, but if any of them that are departed appear unto them, then will they believe it. And Abraham concludeth on this manner: If they believe not Moses and the Prophets, no more will they believe if any of the dead should rise again. And therefore may I likewise conclude, that if they believe not neither yet fear the pains which Moses and the Prophets, yea, and Christ and his Apostles, have prophesied to fall on the unfaithful, then will they not believe for fear of the pains of purgatory.

Rastell's solution confuted.

Luke xvi.

A true and good conclusion.

Rastell. Now to the last point, "where purgatory should be,"

Frith. he answereth as you shall hear. First, that "it is a foolish question," (for he cannot answer unto it by his philosophy.) And then he saith, that "no man can tell neither the place, neither yet the manner of the pain." Here maketh he St. Thomas, yea and all our Schoolmen fools by craft; partly because they take upon them

Rastell cannot tell where purgatory is, whether on the earth or elsewhere.

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to answer unto this question, which he calleth foolish, and partly because they fully determine that the place of purgatory is the third place in hell, and all to assign fire to be the manner of the pain. And again, in this last part, he proveth them double fools. Once, because they stoutly affirm that thing which no man can tell, (as Rastell saith;) and again, because they restrain God of his liberty, that assign any place, and make him of less authority than an inferior judge, which hath no place assigned him, but may do execution and punish the guilty in what place he will. I wonder that our Schoolmen may abide this fellow.

Rastell proveth all the Schoolmen to be double, fools.

And then he saith that "purgatory is in a place limitative. And wheresoever God doth limit the soul to be purged, there is the limitative place of that soul, and there is the purgatory of that soul." So that a man may gather by Rastell, that the souls be not limited to one place to be purged and punished. And thereto agreeth also his similitude of the judge which assigneth one to be punished in one place, and another in another, even at his pleasure. If such gear had come from beyond the sea, it should soon have been condemned, although it had not been half so grievous against our Schoolmen. But let this pass, as it is well worthy, and let us see and examine more of this new-fangled philosophy.

Rastell.

Purgatory is not in one place only, but in many and divers places.

NOW are we come unto the sixth argument, which beginneth in the twelfth chapter; the effect is this.

Rastell's sixth argument.

"Repentance is the full payment and satisfaction of sin, and bringeth remission, therefore as soon as repentance is taken, God of his justice must give remission, and so there ought to be no purgatory."

This argument is nothing worth, for the first part, as we have often proved, is false. For if repentance were the full payment and very satisfaction for sin, then died Christ in vain. Notwithstanding, if he grant this first

Frith.

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part to be true, neither he nor all his fellows shall be able to solve this argument while they live. But because we will be short, let us pass over to his answer, which is in the thirteenth chapter.

Rastell. In solving this argument, he groundeth him on two lies at once; the first is, "that God never giveth remission except he see in us a convenient cause counterpoising his justice."

Frith. What cause found he in the man that was brought unto him sick of the palsy, to whom he said, Be of good comfort, (son) thy sins are forgiven thee? (Matt. ix. Mark ii. Luke v.) What cause found he in the thief that was crucified with him, but that he had been an unthrift all his life long? And yet even the same day that he suffered with Christ, was he partaker of joy with him in Paradise. (Luke xxiii.) Where was purgatory then? where was the punishment that he should have suffered for his enormities? If any man should suffer in purgatory, it is like that this thief should have done it. But he went from death to life, and never came in purgatory; wherefore I may conclude that no man shall come there, if there were any. What cause, I pray you, doth Paul assign as touching our redemption and remission of our sin? forsooth no other but that we were wretched sinners, and the very enemies of God. (Rom. v.) For, saith Paul, if when we were his enemies, we were reconciled unto God through the death of his Son, much more now we are reconciled, shall we be saved by his life. So that in us is no manner of cause for remission, but only misery and sin.

There can be no cause in us that may deserve the forgiveness of sin.

Luke xxiii.

There is no purgatory.

Rom. v.

God of his mere mercy reconciled us when we were his enemies.

25. But the whole cause of the remission of our sins, and of our salvation, is the blood of Christ, which hath fully counterpoised the justice of God the Father, and hath pacified his wrath towards us that believe. He is the very purgatory, for all faithful which hath already purged our sins, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father. (Heb. i.) The second lie is this: he saith, that

The shedding of Christ's blood is our salvation.

Heb. i.

Rastell.

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"God of his justice must give to every thing his own, which own is the thing that it deserveth to have." If this were true, then should not one of us enter the inheritance of heaven, for we have every one of us deserved death and damnation. For, as Paul saith, (Rom. iii.) We have all sinned, and want the glory which before God is allowed. But we are freely justified through his grace by the faith that is in Christ Jesus. If it be freely through his grace, then is it not by our own deserving, for then grace were no grace. And, contrarywise, if it be by our own deserving, then is it not of grace, for then deserving were no deserving. (Rom. xi.) But the truth is this: that God of his mercy had promised unto our forefathers his dear son Christ, that he should deliver them from all their iniquities, and that all the nations of the world should be blessed in him. (Gen. xii.) This seed he promised of his mercy and favour, whom also he sent in the time that he had ordained, (Gal. iv.) not for our own deservings, but for his truth's sake, and to fulfil that he had promised. This Christ is become our righteousness, (1 Cor. i.) so that the justice of God is not to give us that we ourselves have deserved, (as Rastell lieth) but to clothe us with another man's justice, (that is Christ's) and to give us that which Christ hath deserved for us. And this justice of God, through the faith of Jesus, cometh unto all and upon all them that believe. (Rom. iii.) Now mark a mystery.

Frith. Rom. iii. Rom. xi. Gen. xii. Gal. iv. God for his truth's sake is merciful unto us. 1 Cor. i. Rom. iii. and xxvi.

Christ humbled himself, and was made obedient unto the death, even to the death of the cross. (Phil. ii.) This obedience and death was not for himself but for us, for he alone suffered, and died for us all. (2 Cor. v.) Now since he was obedient unto the death for us, that is even as good as though we ourselves had been obedient every man for himself unto the death; and since he died for us, that is even as good as though we had died ourselves for our own sins; what wilt thou have

Phil. ii. 2 Cor. v. Christ only submitted himself to death for our sins.

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more of a man than that he be obedient unto God the Father even unto death, yea, and die for his sins? wilt thou yet thrust him into purgatory?

On these two lies bringeth he in an answer, which is so confused, intricate, and long, that it were not only foolishness to solve it, but also much lost labour and cost to rehearse it; wherefore I let it pass, for every child shall easily solve it, since his foundation and first stone is taken from him. But yet one thing is necessary to be touched. He goeth about to prove his purpose, with an example on this manner.

Rastell's ignorancy.

Rastell.

A foolish example set forth by Rastell.

"If I do beat thy servant or apprentice, and do maim him, whereby thou dost lose his service; and also that this servant during his life is not able to get his living; if so be that thou dost forgive me the offence done unto thee in that thou hast lost his service, yet am I bound to make another satisfaction unto thy servant for the hurt I have done him, which is the cause of the hinderance of his living. And in like manner, if I have offended God and my neighbour, albeit God forgive me his deal, yet can he not of justice forgive me my neighbour's deal too; but yet must I make satisfaction unto my neighbour. Now in case I would and be not able to satisfy my neighbour, and yet he forgive me not, then must I suffer in the pains of purgatory for it: and those pains shall stand my neighbour in profit for part of his purgatory, if he come there, or else to the increase of his joy if he go to heaven:" this is the sum, but he speaketh it in many more words. Now, because he hath touched the matter of satisfaction, I will show you my mind therein.

There is no way to pacify the wrath of God against our sins, but faith in Christ.

Frith.

There are two manners of satisfaction. The one is to God, the other to my neighbour. To God cannot all the world make satisfaction for one crime; insomuch, that if every grass of the ground were a man, even as holy as ever was Paul or Peter, and should pray unto God all their lives long for one crime, yet could

There are two manners of satisfaction, one to God, the other to our neighbour.

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they not make satisfaction for it. But it is only the blood of Christ that hath made full satisfaction unto God for all such crimes, (Heb. vii.) or else were there no remedy, but we should all perish, as I have proved before. And he that seeketh any other satisfaction towards God than Christ our Saviour, he doth wrong unto his precious blood. Heb. vii.

There is another satisfaction, which is unto my neighbour whom I have offended. As if I have taken any man's good from him; for then am I bound to pacify him, either by restoring it again, or else by other means, as we to can agree. If I have defamed him, then am I bound to pacify him, and to restore him unto his good fame again, and so forth. But if I be not able to satisfy him, then must I acknowledge myself guilty, and desire him to forgive me, and then is he bound to forgive me, or else shall he never enter into heaven. For God hath taught us to pray, (Matt. vi.) that he should forgive us, as we forgive them that trespass against us; so that if we forgive not one another, then will not God forgive us. To this well agreeth the parable, (Matt. xviii.) The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a certain king, which would take account of his servants. And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought to him, which owed him ten thousand talents: but when he had nought to pay, the Lord commanded him to be sold, and his wife, and his children, and all that he had, and payment to be made. The servant fell down and besought him, saying, Sir, give me respite, and I will pay it every whit. Then had the Lord pity on the servant, and loosed him and forgave him the debt. The same servant went out and found one of his fellows, which owed him an hundred pence, and laid hands on him, and took him by the throat, saying, Pay that thou owest. And his fellow fell down and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all: and he would not, but went Matt. vi. Matt. xviii.

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and cast him into prison till he should pay the debt. When his other fellows saw what was done, they were very sorry, and came and told unto their Lord all that happened. Then the Lord called him, and said unto him, O evil servant, I forgave thee all the debt, because thou prayedst me: was it not meet also that thou shouldest have had compassion on thy fellow, even as I had pity on thee? And his Lord was wroth, and delivered him to the gaolers till he should pay all that was due to him. So likewise shall your heavenly Father do unto you, if you will not forgive with your hearts, each one to his brother their trespasses. Here mayest thou see, that if you forgive heartily the small debt or offence that thy neighbour hath done against thee, then will thy heavenly Father forgive thee the whole and great debt that thou owest him, for the which thou art well worthy to be damned. And so is it more profitable for thee to forgive it, than that thy neighbour should broil in purgatory for it, as Rastell feigneth. And contrarywise, if thou forgive him not, then shall not God forgive thee thy great debt, but thou shalt surely be damned, and so shall not thy neighbour's purgatory profit thee, (be it in case there were one, and that he should go thither,) but it is rather the cause of thy damnation: but this cannot Rastell see.

Except we be ready to forgive them that offend us, God will not forgive us.

Now be we come unto the seventh reason, which is in the fourteenth chapter. The argument is this: "God is the very owner of all, and thy neighbour hath no property, but as a servant to God, as but to make account to God. Therefore when thou doest an offence to God and to thy neighbour, when God forgiveth it thou needest no other satisfaction unto thy neighbour." And to establish his reason he bringeth in a similitude, which is nothing to the purpose. The similitude is this: "I put a case: thou hast a servant whom thou puttest in trust to occupy for thee, to make bargains, change, and

Rastell's seventh argument.

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sell to thy use, to take bonds, and again to make acquittances and releases in his own name. If this servant sell part of thy ware, and take an obligation for the payment of twenty pounds, if thou afterwards, knowing of this, either for love or some other cause, wilt make unto the said debtor a clear release; I suppose no man will deny but that this debtor is fully discharged of this twenty pounds, and is not bound, by any justice, to make any satisfaction either unto thy servant or to any other man, for thou art the very owner thereof, and thy servant had but the occupation as to give the accounts thereof."

This similitude is not proper between God and man, as it is between man and man.

This similitude cannot well be applied unto God and man. For albeit it is true that all our substance pertaineth unto God, as it is written, (Haggai ii.) Gold is mine, and silver is mine; yet hath not God given it us to occupy it for his profit and use, (as the servant doth for his master,) but only that we should use his gifts for the profit of our neighbour, and to the use of the congregation. (1 Cor. xii.) And whereas he induceth, that when God forgiveth us, which is the principal part, that thou needest no other satisfaction to thy neighbour; I answer, that God forgiveth no man which had offended his neighbour, unless that he make satisfaction unto his neighbour, if he be able; but if he be not able, yet is he bound to acknowledge his fault unto his neighbour, and then is his neighbour bound, under the pain of damnation, to forgive him, so that God never forgiveth until thy neighbour be pacified, in case the crime extend unto thy neighbour. This solveth both the reason, and also improveth the similitude. Now let us declare his solution.

Frith.

Hag. ii.

1 Cor. xii.

God forgiveth no man that offendeth his neighbour, except he first reconcile himself to his neighbour.

"God of himself hath two powers: one is an absolute power, and another is an ordinary power. The absolute power is the authority that God hath over all things in the world; by that he may give to every creature what pleaseth him, and also forgive every of-

Rastell.

Rastell's solution to his seventh argument.

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fence done by any creature at his pleasure, without any cause. And by this may he forgive both the crime done towards himself, and also towards my neighbour. But by his ordinary power, he doth every thing by order of justice and equity. And by this can he not forgive the offence done to him and my neighbour, without satisfaction."

Frith. Now would I fain wete, whether Rastell imagine that God, by his absolute power, may save the unfaithful and damn the faithful? If he say nay, then may I conclude that Rastell's definition is false, where he saith, "that God, by his absolute power, may give to every creature what pleaseth him, and also forgive every offence done by any creature at his pleasure, without any cause." If he say yea, then must I conclude that God hath power to do contrary to his Scripture, for the Scripture saith, That he that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned. (Mark. xvi.) Now if he grant me that he hath power to do against his Scripture, (since his Scripture is the truth, and his own word,) then must it needs follow that he hath power to do against his truth, and, consequently, he hath power to be false, and so to sin. And since he hath power against his own word, and that word is his Son, then must we grant him power against his Son, even to make him a liar, where he saith in the aforesaid text. (Mark xvi.) And since his Son is God, then hath God power to do against God, and so cannot his kingdom endure. (Matt. xii.)

A perfect definition of God's absolute power.

Mark xvi.

God cannot be against himself.

Matt. xii.

Furthermore, if I might be bold with Rastell, I would ask him this question, Whether God have not an absolute justice as well as an absolute power? If God have also an absolute justice, then cannot his absolute power prevail until his absolute justice be fully counterpoised. And so is it false that Rastell beginneth withal, that "God, by his absolute power, may forgive every offence at his pleasure, without any cause." For, as I said,

Whether God have an absolute justice?

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his absolute justice must needs be satisfied and fully counterpoised. If Rastell dare say that God hath an absolute power, and no absolute justice, then taketh he his pleasure indeed. For if he make one Notional in God greater than another, (by this word Notional, which the schoolmen use, I would you should understand the goodness, wisdom, power, justice, and mercy of God, &c.) then shall he make a dissension in God, and imagine that one Notional subdueth another; yea, and besides that, since each one of these Notionals is very God, (for the power of God is nothing but God himself, and the justice of God is nothing but God himself, and so forth of all the other,) then if his power were greater than his justice, it should follow that God were greater than God, and, consequently, we should have a great God and a little God, and more Gods than one: such revel maketh Rastell with his Turk. But the Christian believes, that one power of God is no greater than another, and that his power is not above his justice, neither his justice above his mercy, &c. And so may you see that Rastell's imagination of God's absolute power is but very childish and unsavoury; for he hath no power against his Scripture and himself. Thus finish his seven reasons, with their solutions.

There is no one power in God greater than another.

Rastell's imagination of God's absolute power is childish.

But yet that his work should long endure all tempest and storms, he addeth a battlement and weatherstone to avoid and shoot off the rain, for fear it should soak in and make his building decay; and therewith concludeth his book.

"To believe" (saith he) "that there were no purgatory to purge and punish our sins after we be departed, should put away that dread of God from the most part of the people, and give them boldness to commit offences and sins. And, again, if the people should believe that they never need to make any satisfaction nor restitution to their neighbours for the wrongs done unto them, they should never force [fear] nor care what inju-

The conclusion of Rastell's book.

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ries, extortions, thefts, robberies, and murders they did. Finally, if they believed that such a light repentance should be sufficient, without any other satisfaction to be made, it should be an occasion to destroy all virtue, and increase vice and sin to the utter destruction of the commonwealth and quiet living of the people." And thus he maketh an end.

Frith. As to the first, where he saith, "that it would put away the dread of God, and give boldness to sin, if we thought there were no purgatory," we see and may evidently perceive the contrary all day both in young and old of them that believe there is a purgatory. The young say, I will take my pleasure while I may! and if I may have but one hour's respite to cry God mercy, I care not, for then shall I go but to purgatory, and so shall I be sure to be saved. The old say, I will keep my goods as long as I may, for I wot not what need I shall have; but when I die, I will cry God mercy! and then shall I go but to purgatory, and mine executors that have my goods, shall redeem me thence well enough. And so to believe purgatory, is rather an occasion of reckless boldness than of the fear of God. Besides that, if they knew that there were no purgatory, then should many the more fear God, and do well themselves, and not trust to their executors, for fear of damnation; howbeit, as I have said before, they that fear not God but for pain, whether it be of hell or purgatory, are yet under condemnation and not in God's favour. And this dare I boldly affirm, that they which fear not God but for purgatory's sake, shall never come in it, no nor yet in heaven. And therefore it is but folly to imagine purgatory for that intent.

The fear of purgatory cannot keep us from sin, but rather the fear of hell and everlasting damnation.

Such as fear not God but for purgatory and hell's sake, shall never come in heaven.

As concerning the second point: "If the people believe that they needed not to make satisfaction to their neighbours for their trespasses," &c. I have sufficiently answered before, that we must make satisfaction unto our neighbours, if we be able, or else will God never for-

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give us. And if we be not able, yet must we acknowledge our offence, and then is our neighbour bound to forgive us, under the pain of damnation. And so can this prove no purgatory.

Now as touching the third, that "if they believed that such a light repentance were sufficient without any other satisfaction, it should be an occasion of vice and subversion of the commonwealth;" I answer as I have done before almost in every argument; since thou art ignorant of Christ's death and his satisfaction unto the Father for us, that all the repentance which we can take is not sufficient to counterpoise one crime, but that if Christ were not, we should all be damned. Here will I leave Rastell and his Turk Gingemin, with all their natural philosophy, (which is now proved foolishness,) for hitherto hath he proved no purgatory, neither hath he one good reason, nor yet to those barren reasons one good solution, as we have sufficiently declared. But let us hear somewhat more of God's word, and see how purgatory standeth with that.

All the penance and repentance in the world, without faith in Christ's blood, cannot save us.

Paul saith, We must all be brought before the judgment seat of Christ, that every man may receive according to the works of his body, whether it be good or bad. (2 Cor. v.) If this be true, then can there be no purgatory which shall profit him after he is dissolved from his body, for then should he not receive according to the works of his body, but rather according to the pains that he suffered in purgatory. Now if this text be true, then must it follow that all thine executor's dealing, and offering of mass-pence, &c., help thee not a mite. And by this text it is not possible that there should be a purgatory.

27.

2 Cor. v.

Upon this text would I fain dispute a point of sophistry, which I would gladly have dissolved of them that think themselves learned in philosophy. My sophism is, that two contradictories may stand together and be both true, which I am sure no sophister dare

Contradictories.

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grant, for it hath in times past been condemned in Oxford for an heresy. The contradictories are these. Every man shall receive according to the works of his body; and some man shall not receive according to the works of his body: that these two contradictories be both true, I will prove. The first proposition is Paul's, (2 Cor. v.) which no man will deny to be true. And the second may easily be proved true, which is, that some man shall not receive according to the works of his body. For be it in case that there depart a man out of this world, which is not clean purged by faith and the word of God, neither are his rebellious members subdued through death, (as they imagine) but that the spots and remnants of sin remain in him, for the which he is worthy to lie in the pains of purgatory for the space of six years. This granted, which I am sure they will not deny, then also put I the case, that this man lying in purgatory by the space of a month, have a friend which offereth for him a penny unto St. Dominic's box, (which hath such power, that as soon as the tingling is heard in the box, so soon the soul is free in heaven,) or that a friend of his buy a pardon for him, which may absolve him *à pœna et à culpa*, for all cometh to one effect; this man delivered on that manner doth not receive according to the works of his body, for by the works of his body he should yet lie in purgatory more than five years, and that doth he not, but is by and by delivered from purgatory. *Ergo*, I may conclude, that some man receiveth not according to the works of his body, and so are two contradictories true, or else there can be no such deliverance out of purgatory, which destroyeth all pardons, mass-pence, and suffrages for the dead. This would I have solved. Howbeit I will not adnumber it for an argument, because the unlearned people (to whom I write this book) cannot well perceive it. But this sophism have I written to

How two contradictories may be both true.

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stop the chattering mouths of the sophisters, and to cast them a bone to gnaw upon.

28. Paul saith, You which were in times past strangers and enemies, because your minds were set in evil works, hath he now reconciled in the body of his flesh, through death, to make you holy, and such as no man can complain on, and without fault in his own sight, if ye continue grounded and stablished in the faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel. (Coloss. i.) Here Paul affirmeth that you are reconciled through his death, so that you are made holy and without fault in his sight. (I have expounded what it is to be without fault, in his first argument.) Look ye yet for another purgatory? Are ye so childish and insensible to imagine that ye must yet go through purgatory, since ye are already without fault in his sight? This is a plain case: God of his righteousness will not punish a man for nothing; but all that are grounded and stablished in the faith, are in his sight without fault, (for their sins are not imputed unto them, but forgiven through Christ's blood,) wherefore, of necessity, I must conclude that no faithful shall ever come there.

We are reconciled to God by the death of Christ, and therefore need not to look for any other Purgatory.

The faithful shall never come into Purgatory, although there were one.

29. Every man that departeth this world is either faithful or unfaithful; if he be faithful, then cometh he not there, as the aforesaid argument proveth. And if he be unfaithful, then cometh he never in purgatory, but is already damned. (John iii. Mark the last.) Now if neither faithful nor unfaithful enter into it, then should it be in vain: but there is nothing made in vain; wherefore I must conclude that there is no such purgatory.

John iii.

A vain imagination to say there is a purgatory.

30. Paul saith, He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him for us all, how shall he not with him give us all things also? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's chosen? (Rom. viii.) Forsooth, Lord God, our prelates lay so sore unto their charge, that they would have them broil in purgatory. But,

Rom. viii.

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Who can condemn them that God doth justify?

Lord, be our protector, for it is thou that justifiest us, and hast freely given us all things with him. (Rom. viii.)

31. Paul saith, The law of the spirit, wherein is life through Christ Jesus, hath delivered me from the law of sin and death. (Rom. viii.) Seeing we be so delivered, what need us seek another deliverance, especially since they make it so painful? Seeing we are on that manner delivered, how chanceth it that we are taken prisoners again under sin, that we must be purged afresh by the fire of purgatory? I pray God give us grace, that we may be purged from this our blind ignorance, through his spirit of knowledge, that we may perceive how it is Jesus Christ that purgeth our sins, and hath delivered us through his blood-shedding. So should we give him the praise which hath deserved it, and not be so unkind unto him as we now be.

Rom. viii.

Christ hath purged our sins.

32. Paul saith, that There is no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus. (Rom. viii.) But if we continue firm and stable in Christ unto the end, then shall we be saved. (Mat. xxiv.) What needeth then purgatory; yea, and what should purgatory do? Is not Christ sufficient? then is our faith in vain. And if he be sufficient, then is purgatory in vain.

Rom. viii.

Matt. xxiv.

There is no purgatory.

33. Paul saith, If you be justified by the law, then is Christ dead in vain. Now if the law, being good, just, and holy, (Rom. vii.) and even of God's own making, cannot justify us, thinkest thou to be justified by frying in purgatory?

Rom. vii.

34. They that are the chief patrons and proctors of purgatory, do feign it for no other intent but to purge evil works, and to be as a penance to supply the good works which we lacked being in this world. But all this cannot bring us into heaven, for then were Christ dead in vain: and of this we have evident examples. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, and all holy prophets, were excluded from heaven, until Christ had suffered death,

Purgatory is a vain imagination.

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this all men testify. But if good works or penance could have brought them to heaven, they should not have tarried out of it so long. Therefore I may conclude, that it is but vanity to imagine a purgatory for to purge evil works and supply good. For, as I have shown, that helped not the patriarchs.

Objections.

Peradventure thou wilt say unto me, Shall I then do no good works? I answer, Yes. Thou wilt ask me, wherefore? I answer, Thou must do them, because God hath commanded them. Thou wilt say, For what intent hath he commanded them? I answer, Because thou art living in this world, and must needs have conversation with men, therefore hath God appointed thee what thou shalt do to the profit of thy neighbour, and taming of thy flesh. As Paul testifieth, (Ephes. ii.) We are his work, made in Christ Jesus to good works, which works God hath prepared, that we should walk in them. These works God would have us do, that the unfaithful might see the godly and virtuous conversation of his faithful, and thereby be compelled to glorify our Father which is in heaven. (Matt. v.) And so are they both profitable for thy neighbour, and also a testimony unto thee, by the which men may know that thou art the right son of thy heavenly Father, and a very Christ unto thy neighbour: and even as our heavenly Father gave his Christ unto us, not for any profit that he should have thereby, but only for our profit, likewise thou shouldest do all thy good works, not having respect what commodities thou shalt have of it, but ever attending, through charity, the wealth and profit of thy neighbour. Thou wilt yet object, Then see I no great profit that I shall have by them. I answer, What wouldest thou have? First, Christ is given thee freely, and with him hast thou all things. He is thy wisdom, righteousness, hallowing, and redemption. (1 Cor. i.) By him art thou made inheritor of God, and fellow heir with Christ. (Rom. viii.) This is freely given

Goodworks.

We must do good works, because God hath so commanded us.

Ephes. ii.

Matt. v.

An answer to another objection.

1 Cor. i.

Rom. viii.

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Ephes. i. thee with Christ before thou wast born, through the favour and election of God, which election was done before the foundations of the world were cast. (Ephes. i.)

We must work with a single eye. Now wert thou very fond and unkind, if thou thoughtest to purchase by thy works the thing which is already given thee. Therefore must thou do thy works with a single eye, having neither respect unto the joys of heaven, neither yet to the pains of hell; but only do them for the profit of thy neighbour, as God commandeth thee, and let him alone with the residue.

35. Ephes. ii. To this well agreeth Paul, (Epes. ii.) saying, By grace are ye made safe through faith, and that cometh not of yourselves, but it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himself.

Our salvation is the gift of God, and cometh not by works. Lo here saith Paul plainly, that our salvation is the gift of God, and cometh not of works; if it come not of works, then are we worse than mad to feign a purgatory. For the chiefest operation of that should be but to supply the works which we have not accomplished being in this body.

36. Rom. xi. Paul saith, (Rom. xi.) The remnant which are left at this time, are through the election of grace. If it be through grace, then is it not by works, for then

Rom. iv. grace were no grace. Or if it be for the works' sake, so is it not of favour and grace, according to that which he wrote before. (Rom. iv.)

Faith in Christ is our righteousness. If Abraham (saith Paul) were justified by his works, then may he rejoice, but not before God. But what saith the Scripture? Abraham believed God, and that was imputed unto him for righteousness, for he that worketh receiveth his reward, not of favour, but of duty. Now, if it be duty, then needeth he not to thank God, but rather himself, for

Faith is imputed for righteousness. then God giveth him nothing but that which is his own of duty. Where is then the praise and glory that we owe to God? Therefore, it followeth in the same text, Unto him that worketh not, but believeth in him that justifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed for

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righteousness. Now if our salvation come of faith and not through our works and deserts, then is purgatory shut out of door and quite vanisheth away.

37. Christ saith, So hath God loved the world, that he would give his only Son, that all which believe in him should not perish, but that they should have everlasting life. (John iii.) Then what needeth purgatory? Thou wilt peradventure say, It is true, they shall have everlasting life, but they must first go through purgatory. I answer, Nay verily; but Christ affirmeth, and that with an oath, that he which heareth his word and believeth his Father which sent him, hath everlasting life. Yea, and that he is gone already from death unto life. (John v.) Wilt thou now say that he shall go into purgatory? forsooth, if that were true, and the fire also so hot as our prelates affirm, then went he not from death unto life, but rather from a small death unto a greater death.

John iii.

Purgatory is needless.

John v.

A forged and feigned purgatory.

38. The prophet saith, Precious is in the sight of the Lord the death of his saints. (Psalm cxvi.) And St. John saith, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord. (Apoca. xiv.) But surely if they should go into the painful purgatory, there to be tormented of fiends, then were they not blessed, but rather wretched.

Psal. cxvi.

Apoc. xiv.

39. God saith by Moses, (Exod. xxxiii.) I will show mercy to whom I show mercy, and will have compassion on whom I have compassion. Now if our salvation be of mercy and compassion, then can there be no such purgatory; for the nature of mercy is to forgive, but purgatory will have all paid and satisfied, so that they twain be desperate, and can in no wise agree. And look how many texts in Scripture commend God's mercy, even so many deny this painful purgatory.

Ex. xxxiii.

Mercy and purgatory cannot agree.

40. The prophet saith, He hath not dealt with us after our sins, neither hath rewarded us according to our iniquities: but look how high the heavens are above the earth, even so high hath he made his mercy to prevail

God is merciful and forgiveth us our sins.

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over them that worship him. And look how far the east is from the west, even so far hath he set our sins from us. (Psalm ciii.) And before, in the same psalm, the prophet exhorteth his soul to praise the Lord, saying, Praise the Lord, O my soul, which forgiveth thee all thine iniquities, and healeth all thy diseases. Now if this be true, that he ordereth us not according to our sins, but poureth his mercy so plenteously upon us; if also he forgive us all our iniquities, why should there be any such purgatory to purge and torment the silly souls, and especially since all was forgiven them before?

Psal. ciii.

41. Wilt thou not call him a shrewd creditor, which after he hath freely forgiven his debtor, will yet cast him in prison for the same debt? I think every man would say on this manner, It was in his own pleasure whether he would forgive it or not, and then of favour and compassion he forgave it; but now he hath forgiven it, he doth unrighteously to punish his debtor for it. And albeit man repent his forgiving, and afterwards sue for his debt, yet God can never repent himself of his mercyable gifts. (Rom. xi.) And therefore will he never torment us for our trespasses, no nor yet once remember them. (Ezek. xviii. Heb. x.)

God hath forgiven us our sins, and therefore will not punish us in purgatory.

Rom. xi.

Ezek. xviii.

42. Since God forgiveth the greater offences, why shall he not also forgive the lesser? He forgave freely much greater offences unto the publican which acknowledged himself to be a sinner, (Luke xviii.) than those be for which men feign that we must be tormented in purgatory. For there is no soul (as they grant themselves,) that suffereth in purgatory for great crimes and mortal sins, but only for little pretty *peccadulians* (if a man may be bold to use M. More's word,) and for venial sins. (Dis. xxv. cap. qualis.) He forgave much greater enormities unto the thief, to whom he said, This day shalt thou be with me, not in purgatory, but in Paradise. (Luke xxiii.) He forgave much greater to Mary Magdalen. (Luke vii.) Is his hand now short-

Luke xviii.

The thief went not to purgatory, but to Paradise.

Luke xxiii.

Luke vii.

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ened? Is not his power as great as it was? Is he not as merciful as ever he was? Why leave we the cistern of living water, and dig us pits of our own, which can hold no pure water? (Jer. ii.) Why forsake we Christ, which hath wholly purged us, and seek another purgatory of our own imagination? If thou believe that Christ's blood is sufficient to purge thy sin, why seekest thou another purgatory?

43. Phil. i.

St. Paul saith, I desire to be loosed from this body, and to be with Christ. (Phil. i.) Verily, if he had thought to have gone through purgatory, he would not have been so hasty, for there should he have had an hot broth and an heartless, and so might he rather have desired long to have lived. And therefore I suppose that he knew nothing of purgatory, but that he rather thought, (as the truth is,) that death should finish all his evils and sorrows, and give him rest in loosing him from his rebellious members, which were sold and captive under sin.

St. Paul knew of no purgatory.

44. How a Christian man should desire death

All Christian men should desire death, as Paul doth, (Phil. i.) not because of their crosses and troubles which they suffer in this present world, for then they sought themselves, and their own profit, and not the glory of God. But if we will well desire death, we must first consider how sore sin displeaseth God our Father, and then our own nature and frailty, and our members so bound under sin that we cannot do nor yet think a good thought of ourselves. (2 Cor. iii.) Then shall we find occasion to lament our life, not for the troubles that we suffer in it, but because we be so prone unto sin, and so continually displease God our Father. What desireth he that would long live, but daily to heap sin upon sin? And therefore should we have a will to die, because that in death our sin is finished, and then shall we no more displease God our Father. Now if we should feign a purgatory, it were not possible to imagine a greater obstacle to make us fear and fly from

2 Cor. iii.

Because daily we offend God, therefore we should pray to be dissolved as Paul did.

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death. For since every man must acknowledge himself
1 John i. a sinner, (1 John i.) and not believe that Christ's death were sufficient, but that he must also go to purgatory, who should depart this world with a quiet mind?

45. The wise man saith, The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God. They seemed to die in the eyes of the foolish, and their end was thought to be pain and
Sap. iii. affliction, but they are in peace. (Sap. iii.) There is no man but he must needs grant me that every faithful is
Habak. ii. righteous in the sight of God, as it is written, (Habak. ii.)
Rom. v. The righteous man liveth by his faith. And, (Rom. v.) Because we are justified by faith, we are at peace with
It is mere foolishness to think there is a purgatory. God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. When these faithful or righteous depart, then, saith this text, That they are fools which think them to be in pain or affliction, for it affirmeth that they are in peace. Now since their purgatory, which they imagine, is pain and affliction, and yet feign that the righteous only shall enter into it after their death, then are they fools that suppose there is a purgatory, or else this text cannot be true.

46. For what intent will God have us tormented in purgatory, to make satisfaction for our sins? Verily then is Christ dead in vain, as we have often proved before. But think you not rather that our purgation should be to increase our faith, or grace, or charity? (for these three cover the multitude of sins.) No, verily, we cannot feign a purgatory for any such cause. For faith spring-
Rom. x. eth by hearing of the word. (Rom. x.) But the Pope
The Pope sendeth no preachers into purgatory. sendeth then no preachers thither; *ergo*, their faith cannot there be increased. And again, pain engendereth and kindleth hate against God, and not love or charity. Furthermore, my Lord of Rochester is compelled to
M. More and the Lord of Rochester cannot agree. grant, that "the souls in purgatory obtain there neither more faith, nor grace, nor charity, than they brought in with them;" and so can I see no reasonable cause why there should be a purgatory. Nevertheless, M. More

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saith, "that both their grace and charity is increased." And so may you perceive that lies can never agree, how witty soever they be that feign and cloak them. For in some points they shall be found contrary, so that at the length they may be disclosed.

47. God is fully pacified with thy will when thou hast no power to accomplish the outward fact. For the wise man saith, (Prov. xxiii.) Son, give me thy heart. Now if thy will be upright, and so that thou have a desire to fulfil the law, then doth God reckon that will unto thee for the full fact. If then, through the frailty of thy members, thou fall into sin, thou mayest well say with the apostle, (Rom. vii.) The good that I would do, that do I not; that is, I have a will and desire to fulfil the law of God, and not to displease my heavenly Father, yet that I do not. But the evil which I hate, that do I; that is, I do commit sin which indeed I hate. Now if I hate the sin which I do, then love I the law of God which forbiddeth sin, and do consent unto this law that it is good, righteous, and holy. And so the sin which I hate and yet commit it through the frailty of my members, is not imputed or reckoned unto me for sin. Neither will St. Paul grant that it is I which do that sin: but he said, I have a will to do good, but I cannot perform that will. For I do not that good which I would, but the evil which I would not, that do I. Now if I do that thing which I would not do, then is it not I that do it, but the sin that dwelleth within me. I delight in the law of God with mine inward man, (that is, with my will and mind, which is renewed with the Spirit of God,) but I see another law in my members which rebelleth against the law of my mind, and maketh me bound unto the law of sin which is in my members. So that I myself in my will and mind do obey the law of God, (hating sin as the law commandeth me, and not consenting unto it in my mind

Prov. xxiii.

Rom. vii.

We have a will and mind to obey the law of God, but our sinful flesh will not consent thereunto.

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and will,) but in my flesh and members I serve the law of sin, for the frailty of my members compelleth me to sin. (Rom. vii.)

Example. As by example, if I see a poor man which is not of ability to do me any pleasure, and, nevertheless, doth all his diligence to seek my favour, and would with heart and mind give me some acceptable present, if he were of power, being also sorry that he cannot perform his will and mind towards me; now if there be any point of humanity or gentleness in me, I will count this man for my friend, and accept his good will as well, as though he had indeed performed his will; for his ability extendeth no further. If his power were better, better should I have. Even so since we are not of power and ability to perform the law of God, and yet bear a good heart towards God and his law, lamenting our imbecility that we can do him no further pleasure; then will God recount us not as his enemies, but as his dear children and beloved friends. Neither will he afterwards thrust us into purgatory, but, as a tender father pardon us our trespasses, and accept our good will for the full deed.

God accepteth our good will if we do that in us is to obey his commandments.

48. Gal. vi. St. Paul exhorteth us (Gal. vi.) that we work well while we have time, for whatsoever a man doth sow that shall he reap: by this may we evidently perceive that he shall not receive according to his doing or suffering in another world, and, therefore, can there be no purgatory.

Purgatory is needless.

49. Eccles. xiv. The wise man saith, (Eccles. xiv.) Work righteousness before thy death, for after this life there is no meat, that is to say, succour to be found. There are some which will understand this place, and also the text in the forty-eighth argument, on this manner; that there should be no place of deserving, but yet there may well be a place of punishment. But this solution, besides that it is not grounded on Scripture, is very slender. For I pray you, wherefore should their invention of purgatory serve

Some imagine purgatory to be a place of satisfaction.

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but to be a place of purging, punishment, and penance, by the which the soul should make satisfaction, that it might so deserve to enter into the rest of heaven?

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforward: Yea truly, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours. But their works follow with them. This text they use in their soul-masses, as though it made for purgatory; but surely, methinketh that it maketh much against them. For let us inquire of all the proctors and favourers of purgatory, whether the souls that must be prisoners in the place departed in the Lord or not? And they must needs answer that they are departed in the Lord, for the unfaithful which die not in the Lord must not be prayed for; and, therefore, must they be upright Christian souls which are tormented, for the others are all damned. Now saith the text, that all such dead as die in the Lord are blessed: but what blessedness were that to broil in purgatory? And if they would here feign a gloss (as their manner is, when they are in a strait ever to seek a starting hole,) and say that they are blessed because they are in a good hope, although they have not yet the rest, but must suffer before in purgatory; that evasion will not this text suffer, for the text saith, that they rest and are in peace, as Isaiah also saith in the 57th chapter; that the righteous (and every faithful man is righteous in the sight of God, as we have often proved before,) when he departeth, resteth in peace as in a bed. And (Sapien. iii.) it is said, that the righteous souls are in peace: and so is it not possible that there should be such a painful purgatory.

50. Apoc. xiv.

The dead that die in the Lord are blessed, and therefore are not in purgatory.

Isa. lvii.

Sap. iii.

Thus have we confuted Rastell, both his arguments and also solutions; for all that he writeth is false and against Scripture. Furthermore we have brought in, to prove that there can be no such purgatory, fifty arguments all grounded on Scripture; and if need were, a

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man might make a thousand, of which our clergy should not be able to avoid one.

The conclusion of John Frith against Rastell's book.

Here I think some men will wonder that I have the Scripture so full on my side, because that there are certain men, as my Lord of Rochester and Sir Thomas More, which, by Scripture, go about to prove purgatory; and this is sure, that Scripture is not contrary unto [illegible]. Therefore, it is necessary that we examine the [illegible] they bring in for their purpose, in [illegible] both what goeth before, and what come[illegible] then shall we easily perceive the truth, [illegible] two men have been piteously deceived. First, I will answer unto M. More, which hath in a manner nothing but that he took out of my Lord of Rochester, although he handles it more subtilly. And whatsoever is not answered in this part, shall be touched and fully convinced in the third, which shall be a several book against my Lord of Rochester.

Thus endeth the First Book.

THE SECOND BOOK,

WHICH IS AN ANSWER UNTO SIR THOMAS MORE.

M. More beginneth pitifully.

MASTER MORE beginneth with "the silly souls of purgatory, and maketh them to wail and lament that they hear the world wax so faint in the faith of Christ, that any man should need now to prove purgatory to Christian men, or that any man could be found which would in so great a thing, so fully and fastly believed for an undoubted article this fifteen hundred years, begin now to stagger and stand in doubt," &c.

Frith.

Verily, methinketh it a foul fault so sore to stumble even at the first. It were a great blot for him, if he should be compelled by good authority to cut off four hundred of his aforesaid number. Now if we cannot

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only prove that he must cut off that four hundred years, but also bring witness that it was neither at that time believed for an article of the faith, nor yet for an undoubted truth; then, I think, ye would suppose this man somewhat out of the way. And that will I prove by God's grace. St. Austin was four hundred years after Christ; and yet in his time was it not fully and fastly believed for an article of the faith; no, nor yet fully and fastly believed to be true. For he himself writeth in his Enchiridion in this manner, speaking of purgatory. After he expounded the place of Paul, (1 Cor. iii.) and had taken this word fire, not for purgatory but for temptation and tribulation, he added these words in the sixty-ninth chapter: It is not incredible that such a thing should also chance after this life, and whether it be so or not it may be questioned, &c. Of these words may we well perceive that he counted it not for an article of the faith, neither yet for an undoubted truth, for if it had been an article of the faith, or an undoubted truth, then would he not have said, *Potest etiam queri*, that is to say, It may be questioned, doubted, or moved: for those holy fathers used not to make questions and doubts in the articles of the faith among themselves, neither yet in such things as were undoubted true: they used not to dispute whether Christ died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, but only believed it.

Purgatory in 400 years after Christ was neither believed as an article of the faith, nor yet for an undoubted truth.

1 Cor.

St. Austin doubted of purgatory.

Rom. iv.

Besides that, the occasion why he wrote the book entitled Enchiridion, was this. There was one Laurentius, a Christian man, which instantly required of St. Austin that he would write him a form of his belief, which he might continually bear in hand, and whereunto he should stick. Upon this, wrote him St. Austin this little book, wherein he commandeth him not fully and fastly to believe (these are M. More's words,) that there was a purgatory; but saith, that it may be questioned, doubted, or moved, whether there be such a

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place or not. Of this have we plain evidence, that it was none article of the faith in St. Austin's time, (which was four hundred years after Christ,) neither yet undoubted truth. And so may all men see that M. More is sore deceived, and set on the sand even at the first brunt and in the beginning of his voyage.

M. More much deceived in the accounting of his.

M. More.

His second reason that he hath to prove purgatory, is this: "The very miscreants and idolaters, Turks, Saracens, and Painims, have ever, for the most part, thought and believed that after the bodies are deceased, the souls of such as were neither deadly damned wretches for ever, nor on the other side, so good but that their offences done in this world have deserved more punishment than they have suffered and sustained there, were purged and punished by pain after the death, ere ever they were admitted unto their wealth and rest. And so must there needs be a purgatory."

M. More's second reason.

Frith.

I answer, if it were lawful to require wisdom in a man so wise as M. More is counted, here would I wish him a little more wit, for I think there is no wise man that will grant this to be a good argument, the Turks, Saracens, Painims, and Jews believe it to be true, *ergo*, we must believe that it is true; for I will show you a like argument. The Turks, Saracens, Painims, and Jews believe that we have not the right Christ, but that we are all damned which believe in Christ. Is it therefore true? Shall we turn our faith because they believe that we be deceived? I think there is no man so foolish as to grant him this. But if M. More will have his reason hold, he must argue on this manner: The miscreants and infidels before named believe that there is a purgatory, and their belief is true, therefore, we must believe that there is a purgatory. Now followeth this argument somewhat more formally. Here might I put him to the proof of his minor: which is, that their belief (in believing purgatory,) is true: which thing he shall never be able to prove. But I have such confi-

M. More maketh a false and fond argument.

John Frith amidst M. More's argument.

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dence of the truth on my side, that I will take upon me to prove the negative, even that their belief is not true as concerning purgatory. For these miscreants which believe purgatory, believe that there is a purgatory for us that be Christian; for they believe that we are fallen from all truth and utterly damned. But they think that there is a purgatory for themselves, wherein they shall be purged and punished until they have made full satisfaction for their sins committed: but that is false, for neither Turks, Saracens, Painims, nor Jews, which believe not in Christ, have or ever shall enter into any purgatory, but they are all damned wretches, because they believe not in Jesus Christ. (John iii.) Now since they be deceived, for they have no purgatory, but are all damned as many as believe not, alas! what blindness is that to argue that we must follow them which are both blind and out of the right way!

John Frith moveth the negative to be true.

John iii.

After this disputeth he by natural reason that there must be a purgatory; his disputation continueth a leaf and a half, out of which Rastell took all his book. And so are all his apparent reasons disclosed before against Rastell. Then beginneth he with the Scripture, on this manner.

Rastell had his arguments from M. More.

"IT seemeth very probable and likely, that the good king Hezekiah for no other cause wept at the warning of his death given him by the prophet, but only for the fear of purgatory."

M. More. Hezekiah.

The story is written, (2 Kings xx. and Isaiah xxxviii.) Hezekiah was sick unto the death. And Isaiah the prophet, and son of Amos, came unto him, saying, Thus saith the Lord, Dispose thy house, for thou shalt die and not live. He turned his face unto the wall, and prayed the Lord, saying, I beseech thee, Lord, remember, I pray thee, how I have walked before thee in truth, and in a perfect heart, and have done that thing which is pleasant and acceptable before thee. Then Hezekiah

Frith. 2 Kings xx. Is. xxxviii.

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wept with great crying. These are the words of the text. We cannot perceive by the text that he was a great sinner, but rather the contrary, for he saith, that he had walked before the Lord in truth and in a perfect heart, and had done that thing which is pleasant and acceptable before the Lord. And therefore it is nothing like that he should fear purgatory, neither yet hell. Thou wilt peradventure ask me, If he wept not for fear of purgatory, why did he then weep? I will also ask you a question, and then will I show you my mind. Christ did not only weep, but feared so sore that he sweat like drops of blood running down upon the earth, which was more than to weep. Now if I should ask you why Christ feared and sweat so sore, what would you answer me? that it was for fear of the pains of purgatory? Forsooth, he that would so answer should be laughed to scorn of all the world, as he were well worthy. Wherefore was it then? Verily, even for fear of death, as it plainly appeareth after; for he prayed unto his Father, saying, My Father, if it be possible, let this death pass from me. (Matt. xxvi.) So fearful a thing is death even unto the most purest flesh. And even the same cause will I assign in Hezekiah, that he wept for fear of death, and not for purgatory. Now proceedeth he further, and promiseth to prove it by plain evident texts, as it is very needful, for the text that he allegeth before is somewhat too far wrested, and yet will it not serve him.

A question to Master More.

A very apt similitude.

Matt. xxvi.

M. More. "Have ye not" (saith he) "the words of Scripture written in the book of the Kings, *Dominus deducit ad inferos et reducit;* Our Lord bringeth folks down into hell, and bringeth them thence again? But they that be in that [part] where damned souls be, they be never delivered thence again. Wherefore it appeareth well, that they whom God delivereth and bringeth thence again, be in that part of hell that is purgatory."

Frith. This text is written in the first book of the Kings,

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and in the second chapter, and they are the words of Hannah, which saith, The Lord doth kill and quicken again; he leadeth down into hell, and bringeth again. Here he thinketh to have good hold; but surely his hold will fail him, for in this one text he showeth himself twice ignorant. First, because he knoweth not that the Hebrew word, *Sheol*, doth not signify hell, but a grave, or a pit that is digged. As it is written, (Gen. xlii.) *Si quid adversitatis acciderit ei in terra ad quam pergitis, deducetis canos meos cum dolore ad inferos;* that is, If any evil chance unto my son Benjamin in the land whither you go, you shall bring down mine hoary hairs with sorrow unto my grave; not unto hell, nor yet unto purgatory, for he thought neither to go to hell nor purgatory for his son, but thought that he should die for sorrow, if his son had any mischance.

1 Kings ii.

M. More here seemeth to be ignorant in the Hebrew tongue. Gen. xlii.

Besides that he is clean ignorant of the common manner of all prophets, which, for the most part, in all psalms, hymns, and other songs of praise (as this is,) make the first end of the verse to expound the last, and the last to expound the first. He that observeth this rule shall understand very much in the Scripture, although he be ignorant in the Hebrew. So doth this place full well expound itself without any imagination of purgatory. Confer the first part of the verse unto the last, and you shall easily perceive it. The first part of the half verse is this: The Lord doth kill; and that expoundeth the other half of this verse, where she saith, He leadeth down to hell; so that in this place to kill and to lead down to hell is all one thing. And likewise in the second part of the half verse, to quicken again and bring again is all one thing. Now if any man be superstitious, that he dare not understand this thing as figuratively spoken, then may he verify it upon them that God raised from natural death, as he did Lazarus. (John xi.) And albeit no man can deny but that this

M. More ignorant of the manner of the speaking of the prophets.

The Lord doth kill and raise again.

John xi.

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sense is good, and that the text may so be understood; yet, in my mind, we shall go more nigh unto the very and pure truth, if we expound it thus: The Lord doth kill and quicken again, he leadeth down to hell and bringeth again; that is, he bringeth men into extreme affliction and misery, (which is signified by death and hell,) and after turneth not his face unto them, and maketh them to follow him. And to this well agreeth Psalm lxxviii., that speaketh of the children of Israel, (which figure his elect church and congregation.) Their years passed over in perpetual trouble: when he destroyed or killed them, then they sought him, they turned and besought him busily. He meaneth not here that he had first killed them by temporal death, and after their death made them to seek him; but that he had wrapped them in extreme afflictions and perpetual troubles, and that he sore scourged them when they broke his commandments, and yet after turned his merciful face unto them.

Ps. lxxviii.

When God saith he killeth and doth quicken again, what the meaning thereof is.

Finally, if you will have the pure understanding of this place, note the words of the three children (Dan. iii.) which were cast into the furnace of fire, and yet preserved from death through the mighty hand of God. Their words and song was this: *Benedicite Anania, Azaria, Misael, Domino, laudate et superexaltate eum in secula: quia eruit nos de inferno, et salvos fecit de manu mortis, et liberavit nos de medio ardentis flammæ, et de medio ignis eruit nos;* that is, Bless, Anania, Azaria, and Misael, the Lord; praise and advance him for ever; for he hath plucked us out of hell, and hath saved us from the power of death. He hath delivered us from the midst of the burning flame, and plucked us out from the midst of the fire. Here may you see the same manner of speaking, and how the last end expoundeth the beginning. These children say that God hath plucked them out of hell, and yet were they neither damned, nor in purgatory, nor dead. But the

Dan. iii.

A true interpretation of Scripture.

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next part of this verse expoundeth their meaning, which saith, He hath saved us from the hand or power of death. So may ye know that to be plucked out of hell, and to be saved from the power of death, are all one thing. And again, where they say that God hath delivered them from the burning flame, and that he hath plucked them from the midst of the fire, is all one sense, as every child may well perceive; and therefore is M. More to blame to be so busy, seeing he understandeth not the phrase and manner of speech of the Scripture.

A foul fault in M. More.

THEN bringeth he in the prophet Zechariah, which saith, *Tu quoque in sanguine Testamenti tui eduxisti vinctos tuos de lacu in quo non erat aqua.* "Thou hast in the blood of thy Testament brought out thy bounden prisoners out of the pit or lake in which there was no water. Now in hell is there no redemption, and *in limbo patrum* the souls were in rest; wherefore it appeareth clearly that those prisoners which he brought out of their pain, he brought only out of purgatory."

M. More. Zechariah.

This text is spoken Zech. ix. For a full answer of this text, I needed no more but to bring the authority of my Lord of Rochester against him. For he expoundeth the place of the Psalm lxvi. for purgatory, which saith, *Transivimus per ignem et aquam et adduxisti nos in refrigerium;* We have gone through fire and water, and thou hast brought us into coolness. If this text of the psalm serve for purgatory, which saith that there is both fire and water, as my Lord of Rochester doth affirm, and bringeth also Origen to confirm it; then cannot this place of Zechariah serve, which saith that there is no water. And so must M. More needs be overseen, for Origen and Rochester be able to weigh up him. Here might I say unto them both, that they should first agree within themselves, and then would I shape them an answer. Howbeit, I know my part so

Frith. Zech. ix.

Psalm lxvi.

More and Rochester cannot agree.

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sure, that I will confute them both, and prove that neither nother place speaketh any thing of this painful purgatory that they describe. But my Lord of Rochester's authority shall be deferred until the third part, which shall be a several book against him.

How the saying of the prophet Zechariah is to be understood.

This place verily approveth not purgatory, but showeth the virtue of Christ's redemption, which through his blood redeemed his captives and prisoners; that is to say, them whom he found bound with the strong bonds of sin to everlasting damnation, which were subjects unto the devil, and the extreme enemies of God. But why calleth he them his? Verily, because they were chosen in Christ Jesus before the beginning of the world, that they with him and through him should enjoy the everlasting inheritance of heaven. Why are they called bound, and prisoners? Surely because they were captives, bound and imprisoned under the devil, through the sin that Adam committed. (Rom. v.) Why saith he that he delivered them out of the pit, wherein is no water? Forsooth, that is even as much to say as he delivered them out of hell and eternal damnation. Thou wilt haply say, He delivered them not out of hell and from eternal damnation, for his prisoners, that is to say, they that shall be saved, never came there. I answer, that they should, without doubt, have gone thither, and have been damned perpetually, except that Christ by his death had delivered and loosed them. And therefore, saith the Scripture, that Christ delivereth us out of hell, because he saveth and delivereth us that we come not there, which else should surely enter into it for ever. It is also a common manner of speech among us, if a man should go to prison for debt, or any such matter, and one of his friends come in the mean season, which pacified the adversaries, and payeth that debt, then may we well say, that he hath delivered this man out of prison, although he

Rom. v.

An objection and answer thereunto.

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came not there, but should have gone thither. And likewise, when we say that such a man hath delivered his friend from the gallows, we mean not that he was already hanged, for then were the deliverance too late, but we mean that he delivered him that he should not be hanged. Furthermore, if a man might be bold to ask M. More whether Christ have redeemed, loosed, and delivered him in the blood of his Testament? I think he would answer, Yea. Now if we should ask him further, from whence he hath delivered him? I am sure he is not so ignorant as to say that Christ hath delivered him from purgatory, but even that he hath delivered him from eternal death and damnation. And so hath Christ delivered us from the pit wherein is no water, that is to say, from hell and everlasting damnation, not that we were in hell already (although we were bound under sin and ready to be cast therein,) but because we should not enter into hell. This is the pure understanding of the text. Here might I dispute with him both of hell and of *Limbus patrum;* but because I will be as short as possible is, I will defer that until another occasion, that I may reason with him somewhat at large.

A question to Master More.

A true and plain exposition of the prophet Zechariah.

"ANOTHER place is there also in the Old Testament that putteth purgatory quite out of question. For (saith he) what is plainer than the places which, in the book of the Maccabees, make mention of the devout remembrance, prayer, alms, and sacrifice to be done for souls, when the good and holy man Judas Maccabæus gathered money among the people to buy sacrifice withal to be offered up for the souls of them that were dead in the battle? What shift find they here? Surely, a very shameless shift, and are fain to take them to that talking which is their shot anchor always when they find the storm so great that they see their ship goeth all to wreck. For first, they use to

M. More.

Maccabees.

Sore spoken of M. More.

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set some false gloss unto the text, and if that help not, then fall they to a shameless boldness, and let not to deny the Scripture and all."

Frith. 2 Macc. xii.

The place which he reciteth is written 2 Macc. xii. And to say the truth, the book is not of sufficient authority to make an article of our faith; neither is it admitted in the canon of the Hebrews. Here he objecteth that the Church hath allowed it, and the holy Doctors, as St. Hierome, St. Austin, and such other. I answer, St. Hierome's mind is opened unto us by the epistle which he wrote before the Proverbs of Solomon. His words are these: *Sicut Judith et Tobie Machabeorum libros, legit quidem eos ecclesia, sed inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit, sic et hæc duo volumina legat ad ædificationem plebis, non ad authoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandum.* That is, Like as the Church doth read the books of Judith, Tobias, and the Maccabees, but receiveth them not among the canonical Scriptures, even so let it read these two books (he meaneth the books of Sapience and Ecclesiasticus,) unto the edifying of the people, and not to confirm the doctrine of the Church thereby. And it is nothing like that St. Austin should dissent from St. Hierome, for they were both in one time, yea, and St. Hierome outlived St. Austin. And, therefore, the Church could not admit any such books, either before St. Austin's time, or in his time, but that St. Hierome should have known of it. And so may you gather, that if St. Austin allow these books, or else say that the Church hath allowed them, you may not understand that they have allowed and received them as canonical Scriptures, for then you make St. Hierome a liar. But thus you must understand it, that they have received them to be read for the edifying of the people, and not to confirm the doctrine of the Church, or articles of the faith thereby, according to St. Hierome's exposition. Now may you see that our shot anchor (as he called it,) is so strong that all

The books of the Maccabees are not in the canon of the Hebrews.

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his storms and waves cannot once move it, for we deny not but that the book is received of the Church to be read; and we show by St. Hierome for what intent it is received and read, not to prove any article of our faith thereby, but only to order our manner of living thereafter in such points as are not repugnant unto the canonical Scripture.

But yet for this once, to do the man pleasure, we will let slip our shot anchor and take the seas with him. And for all their furious winds and frothy waves, we will never strike sail, so strong is our ship and so well balanced. Be it in case that this book of the Maccabees were of as good authority as Isaiah, yet can he not prove this fury and painful purgatory thereby. For it speaketh not one word neither of fire nor pain, but it speaketh of a sacrifice offered for the dead, that they might be loosed from their sins, because there is a resurrection of the dead, which may well be without any pain or fire; so that this conclusion is very bare and naked. It is good to offer sacrifice for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins, *ergo*, there is a sensible fire which doth punish the holy and chosen people of God. I am sure there is no child, but he may perceive that this argument is nought. 1.

The meaning and true exposition of the Maccabees touching purgatory.

Besides that it is to be doubted, whether Judas did well or not in offering this sacrifice. And therefore ought we not of a foolish presumption to follow his fact until we know how it was accepted. Peradventure thou wilt say, that the deed is commended in the said text, where it saith, But because he considered that they which with godliness had entered their sleep, (that is their death,) had good favour laid up in store for them, therefore is the remembrance to pray for the dead holy and wholesome, that they may be loosed from their sins. I answer, That the persons which were slain in the battle, for whom this prayer and sacrifice was made, were found to have under their cloaks oblations of idols 2.

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The slaughter of the Jews was for idolatry. Deut. vii.

which were at Jamniam, and for that cause were they slain, as it is plain in the text, yea, and all the host praised the right judgment of God. Now these men that were so slain, were damned by the law, (Deut. vii.) which saith, The images of their Gods thou shalt burn with fire, and see that thou covet not the silver or gold that is on them, nor take it unto thee, lest thou be snared therewith, for it is an abomination unto the Lord thy God. Bring not therefore the abomination unto thine house, lest thou be a damned thing as it is; but utterly defy it and abhor it, for it is a thing that must be destroyed. Of this may we evidently perceive, that albeit Judas did this thing of a good mind, yet was he deceived, for his sacrifice could nothing help them since they were damned by the law, and entered not their sleep with godliness as he supposed.

Judas Maccabæus was deceived in his sacrifice.

3. Furthermore, it is evident that the Jews had sacrifices for the sins of them that lived. (Levit. iv. v. vi. &c.) But how knew they that these sacrifices would extend themselves unto the sins of the dead? and they were commanded, under the pain of cursing, that they should add nothing unto the word of God. (Deut. xii.) Verily, it is like that the priests, even at that time, sought their own profit, abused the sacrifices, and deceived the simple people.

Deut. xii.

4. M. More also saith, that "The money was sent to buy sacrifices, which should be offered for the sin of the slain." Now knoweth every Christian that all manner of sacrifices and offerings were nothing but figures of Christ, which should be offered for the sin of his people. So that when Christ came, all sacrifices and oblations ceased. If thou shouldst now offer a calf to purge thy sin, thou wert no doubt injurious unto the blood of Christ, for if thou thought his blood sufficient, then wouldst thou not seek another sacrifice for thy sin.

By Christ's death all sacrifices ceased.

Yea, I will go further with you; there was not one

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sacrifice in the Old Testament that purged or took away sin. For the blood of oxen or goats cannot take away sin. (Heb. x.) But all the sacrifices which were then offered, did but signify that Christ should come and be made a sacrifice for us, which should purge our sin for ever. Now were their sacrifices and oblations institute of God, and yet could they not take away sin, but only signified that Christ, through his blood, should take it away. What madness then is come into our brains that we think that our oblations, which are ordained but of our own imagination, should take away sin!

Heb. x.

No sacrifice can take away sin but only the sacrifice made by Christ.

What if Judas gathered such an offering in the Old Testament, should it then follow that we must do so too, which know that Christ is come, and that all oblations are ceased in him? Shall we become Jews, and go back again to the shadow and ceremony, since we have the body and signification, which is Christ Jesus? Be it that Judas were a holy man, might he not do yet amiss? Be it in case that he did well, shall we therefore straightways out of his work, ground an article of our faith? David was a holy man, and yet committed he both murder and adultery: shall we, without further searching the Scriptures, straightways follow his example? Abraham was a holy man, and was commanded of God to offer his own son: shall we offer our children therefore? Gideon and Joshua destroyed the unfaithful kings and princes, and did well and were praised of God. Must we do so too? And wherefore shall we more follow the example of Judas than of the other? Shall I tell you why? Verily, for this example of Judas bringeth money unto our spiritualty. These twelve thousand drachmas shine so bright in their eyes, that without other candle, lantern, or spectacles, they have espied an article of our faith: you may not consider that they have taken this text of twelve thousand drachmas for an epistle in soul-masses, for then, peradventure, you

6.

The holiest men have fallen.

The example of Judas Maccabæus is profitable to the church, and therefore it must be followed.

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might fall into some shrewd suspicion, that they should do it of covetousness, which fault cannot be espied in our spiritualty, as you know well enough.

7. He that holdeth any ceremony of the law as necessary, is bound to keep and fulfil the whole law. This
Gal. vi. is evident of Paul, (Gal. vi.) where he saith, If ye be circumcised, then are ye debtors to fulfil the whole law. That is, if ye put any confidence in circumcision, or recount it as necessary, (for else it is of itself neither good nor evil,) then make you yourselves bound under the law, which burthen neither we nor our fathers could
Acts xv. bear, and tempt God. (Act. xv.) And this sacrifice of
Rastell. Judas was but a ceremony, and signified that Christ should with his blood quench our sins. *Ergo*, he that keepeth or counteth this ceremony as necessary, (as are all the articles of the faith,) doth captive himself under the law, and tempteth God, to speak no more sharply.

8. Yet will I go a little near unto you. Judas himself
The schoolmen say that in the time of the Old Testament there was no purgatory. believed not that there was a purgatory. For in the time of the Old Testament there was no purgatory, as the Schoolmen grant themselves, but only a place of rest, which they called *Limbus patrum;* wherefore they are piteously deceived, that will prove purgatory by the texts of the Old Testament, since, as they say themselves, there was no purgatory at that time.

9. Finally, I cannot find a place that of itself more properly confuteth this phantastical purgatory, than doth this same text, which they stick so sore to, imagining that it establisheth purgatory. The text saith on this manner: Except he had hoped that they which were slain should rise again, it should seem void and in vain to pray for the dead. If you feign a purgatory, then must this text needs be false; for be it in case that the dead should not rise again. Now, saith the text, That it were void and in vain to pray for the dead, if they should not rise again; but if there were a purgatory wherein they should be purged and punished in the

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mean season, then were it not in vain to pray for them to deliver them out of that pain, but rather very fruitful and necessary, although they should never rise again. And, therefore, if this text be of authority, is it impossible that there should be any purgatory, neither is there any text that, in my judgment, can better undermine purgatory and make it fall.

A declaration of the meaning of Judas Maccabæus in offering his sacrifice for the dead.

Peradventure you desire to know my mind in this place, and that I should expound unto you what Judas meant in his oblation, since he thought of no purgatory, as the aforesaid text doth well specify. Verily, I think that Judas believed that there should be a resurrection, as this text praised him, saying, thinking well and devoutly of the resurrection. For among the Jews there were many that believed not the resurrection of our flesh; and they that believed it were yet so rude and ignorant, that they thought they should rise but to obtain a carnal kingdom, and have their enemies subdued under them without rebellion; and thereto stick the Jews unto this day. And it is most like that this should be his meaning: We shall all rise again, and possess this land in peace, and these men which are slain are out of the favour of God, because they have, contrary to the law, (Deut. vii.) taken of the idol's oblations, therefore is it best that we send a sacrifice unto Jerusalem to pacify the wrath of God towards them, lest, when they rise again, the Lord should send some plague amongst us for their transgression which they committed while they were here living. If any man can better guess, I am well content to admit it, but this is plain enough: he thought that this sacrifice could not help them before they should rise again, which doth fully destroy purgatory. For where he saith, that it were void and in vain to pray for the dead, except they should rise again, is even as much to say unto him that hath any wit, as that this prayer and sacrifices can do them no good before they be risen again from death, for else were it not

Deut. vii.

Judas Maccabæus thought of no purgatory.

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in vain to pray for them, although they should never rise again. As by example, if I say to a man that he shall never obtain his purpose, except he should sue to the king's grace, it is even as much to say to a man that hath any wit, as he shall never obtain his purpose before he hath sued to the king's highness.

M. More is like to be proved an insipient.

Master More goeth about to jest them out of countenance which say, that the book of Maccabees is not authentic, because it is not received in the canon of the Hebrews, and saith, that by this reason we may also deny the book of Sapience, and prove ourselves insipients; but verily, if he admit the book of Sapience to be true and authentic, I fear me it will go nigh to prove him an insipient, for granting that there is a purgatory. Read the forty-fifth argument against Rastell, and then judge whether I say true or not.

10.

Hitherto have I let slip our shot anchor, and have run the seas with him, granting him for his pleasure that this book should be of as good authority as Isaiah. Not that the Church, or holy doctors, or any wise man supposeth it of so good authority, but only to see what conclusion might be brought upon it, that once granted.

John Frith's judgment of the books of the Maccabees.

And if any man would require my judgment as concerning this book, I would shortly answer, that either this book is false, and of no authority, or else that Christ and his apostles, all holy doctors, and schoolmen thereto are false, and without authority; for he that admitteth prayers and sacrifice to be done for the dead, yea, and also affirmeth that they are holy and wholesome for such sins as are damned by the law of God, (which are indeed very mortal,) doth not he sin against the word of God, yea, and also against the common consent of all men? But this book doth so, which admitteth prayer and sacrifice to be done for the dead that were slain in the battle for their offence, yea, and also damned by the law. (Deut. vii.) Now conclude yourselves what ye think of this book.

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Thus much hath M. More brought (to prove his purpose,) out of the Old Testament, and I think ye see it sufficiently answered. And now he intendeth to prove his purgatory by good and substantial authority in the New Testament also.

"FIRST let us consider" (saith Master More,) "the words of the blessed apostle and evangelist St. John, where he saith, *Est peccatum ad mortem, non dico ut pro eo roget quis.* There is, saith he, some sin that is unto the death; I bid not that any man should pray for that. This sin, as the interpreters agree, is understood of desperation and impenitence, as though St. John would say, that who depart out of this world, impenitent or in despair, any prayer after made can never stand him in stead. Then it appeareth clearly, that St. John meaneth that there are others which die not in such case, for whom he would men should pray, because that prayer, to such souls, may be profitable. But that profit can no man take, being in heaven, where it needeth not, nor being in hell, where it booteth not; wherefore it appeareth that such prayer helpeth only for purgatory, which thou must therefore needs grant, except thou deny St. John." M. More. 1 John v. Desperation and impenitence are damnable sinners.

The text is written, (1 John v.) which saith, There is a sin unto the death; I bid not that any man shall pray for that. In this place doth M. More understand by this word death, temporal death, and then he taketh his pleasure. But we will desire him to look two lines above, and not to snatch one piece of the text on this fashion. I will rehearse you the whole text, and then ye shall hear mine answer. The text is this: If any man perceive that his brother doth sin a sin not unto the death, let him ask, and he shall give him life to them that sin not unto death. For there is some sin that is unto death: I bid not that any man should pray for that. Now mark mine answer. Death and life be Frith. 1 John v.

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contrary, and both words are in this text; therefore, if you understand this word death for temporal death, then must you also understand by this word life, temporal life. And so should our prayer restore men again unto temporal life. But I ensure you, M. More taketh this word death so confusedly, that no man can tell what he meaneth. For in one place he taketh it for temporal death, saying, Whoso depart out of this world impenitent, &c. And in another place he is compelled to take it for everlasting death. Therefore will I show you the very understanding of the text; and better interpreters desire I none than Christ himself, which said unto the Pharisees, Every blasphemy shall be forgiven, but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost (which St. John calleth a sin unto the death,) shall never be forgiven, but is guilty unto everlasting damnation. (Mark iii.) What sin or blasphemy is this? Verily, that declareth St. Mark, saying, They said that he had an unclean spirit: that was the sin unto death everlasting, that was the sin that should never be forgiven. He proveth so evidently unto them that his miracles were done with the Spirit of God, that they could not deny it; and yet of an hard and obstinate heart, even knowing the contrary, they said that he had a devil within him. These Pharisees died not forthwith, but lived peradventure many years after. Notwithstanding, if all the apostles had prayed for these Pharisees whilst they were yet living, for all that their sin should never have been forgiven them. And truth is, that after they died in impenitence and desperation, which was the fruit of that sin, but not the sin itself.

M. More is confused in the interpretation of the Scriptures.

Mark iii.

What blasphemy and sin against the Holy Ghost is.

Now see ye the meaning of this text, and what the sin unto death or against the Holy Ghost is. If any man perceive his brother to sin a sin not unto death, that is, not against the Holy Ghost, let him ask, and he shall give him life; that is, let him pray unto God for his brother, and his sin shall be forgiven him. But if

The pure understanding.

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he see his brother sin a sin unto death, that is, against the Holy Ghost, let him never pray for him, for it booteth not. And so is not the text understood of prayer after this life, (as M. More imagineth) but even of prayer for our brother which is living with us.

Notwithstanding, this sin is not lightly known, except the person acknowledge it himself, or else the Spirit of God open it unto us. Therefore may we pray for all men, except we have evident knowledge that they have so offended, as is before rehearsed. And thus is his text taken from him, wherewith he laboureth to prove purgatory.

M. More. Apoc. v.

"What say they to the words of St. John? (Apoc. v.) I have heard (saith he) every creature that is in heaven and upon the earth, and under the earth, and that be in the sea, and all things that be in them—all these have I heard say, Benediction, and honour, and glory, and power for ever be to Him that is sitting in the throne, and unto the Lamb. By the creatures in heaven, he meaneth angels. By the creatures upon the earth, he meaneth men. By the creatures under the earth, he meaneth the souls in purgatory. And by the creatures in the sea, he meaneth men that sail on the sea."

Note.

Frith.

By this text I understand not only angels and men, but also heaven and earth, and all that is in them, even all beasts, fishes, worms, and other creatures, and think that all these creatures do praise the Lord. And where he taketh the creatures under the earth for the souls in purgatory, I take it for all manner of creatures under the earth, both worms, vermin, and all other. And where he draweth the text, and maketh the creatures in the sea to signify men that are sailing on the sea, I say that the creatures in the sea do signify fishes, and such other things; and that St. John, by this text, meant even plainly, that all manner of things gave praise unto God and the Lamb; yea, and I dare be bold to add, that even the very devils and damned souls are com-

Frith and More do not agree.

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pelled to praise him, for their just punishment commendeth His puissant power and righteousness. Neither needest thou to wonder or think this any new thing; for David, in the 148th Psalm, biddeth serpents, beasts, and birds to praise the Lord, as it is also written, Dan. iii. And Paul saith, (Rom. viii.) All manner of creatures long for our redemption, and praise God for it; yea, and mourn that the last day is not yet come, that the elect children of God might enter into rest: for then shall also those creatures be delivered from their corruption and bondage into the liberty and glory of the children of God. Now judge, Christian reader, which sentence standeth most with the Scripture and glory of God.

A true exposition of the Scripture.

M. More. "Doth not the blessed Apostle St. Peter, as it appeareth, (Acts ii.) say of our Saviour Christ, in this wise: *Quem Deus suscitavit solutis doloribus inferni?* In these words he showed that pains of hell were loosed; but those pains were not the pains of damned souls. And *in limbo patrum* there was no pain; *ergo*, it was the pain of purgatory which he loosed."

Frith. Alas! what shall I say? I am in a manner compelled to say that this man wandereth in wilful blindness. For else were it not possible that he should err so far as to bring in this text for his purpose. The words of Peter are these: Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man set forth of God for you, with powers, wonders, and tokens, which God hath done by him among you, as you yourselves know, after he was delivered by the purposed counsel and foreknowledge of God, and you received him of the hands of the wicked; ye crucified and killed him whom God hath raised, dissolving the pains of death; for it was impossible that he should be subdued of it. Here, instead of these words, The pains of death, he setteth the pains of hell, (as it is most like) even of a purposed deceit. For albeit the man would not take the pains to read the

More purposely corrupteth the sense of the Scripture.

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Greek, yet if he had but once looked upon the translation of his old friend and companion, Erasmus, it would have taught him to have said, *Solutis doloribus mortis;* that is, dissolving the pains of death, according to the Greek, and very words of Luke, which wrote these Acts in the Greek tongue.

And albeit the old translation useth this word *Infernus*, which is diversely taken in Scripture both for death, for a grave, and for hell; yet in this place is Master More without excuse, which calleth it hell in our English tongue. For albeit the word of itself were indifferent in the Latin, yet it is not indifferent in the English; for there is no Englishman that taketh this word hell either for death, or for a grave; no, not Master More himself: for first he translateth the text falsely, calling it hell, and then he descanteth on a false ground, and calleth hell not death, but purgatory. When St. Peter brought in these words for no other purpose but to prove that Christ was risen from death through the power of his Father, meaning that God the Father did raise his son Christ, notwithstanding the sorrowful pains and pangs which he suffered unto the death, for it was impossible that Christ should be utterly subdued of death. So that this text proveth no more purgatory, than it proveth that Master More was hired of the spiritualty to defend purgatory. Besides that, if it should serve for purgatory, (which no wise man will grant when he seeth the process of the text,) it should prove nothing but that Christ should lie in the pains of purgatory until God his Father had helped him out: for the pains which he speaketh of were Christ's pains, which no man can deny if he read the text. But what a fond opinion were that, to feign that Christ, which was without sin, should be tormented in the pains of purgatory.

More falsely descanteth upon the Scriptures.

M. More is a proctor for purgatory.

"The blessed Apostle Paul, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, the third chapter, speaking of our Saviour

M. More. 1 Cor. iii.

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Christ, the very and only foundation of all our faith and salvation, saith, If any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, or straw, every man's work shall be made open, for the day of the Lord shall declare it; for in the fire it shall be showed, and the fire shall prove what manner of thing every man's work is. If any man's work that he hath builded thereon do abide, he shall have a reward; if any man's work burn, he shall suffer harm, but he shall be safe, but yet as by fire." And finally he concludeth that this word fire must needs signify the fire of purgatory.

M. More would fain prove a purgatory.

Frith. He that considereth the order or process of the text, shall easily perceive that this man erreth; for the text speaketh of the preachers, and blameth the Corinthians that they made such sects and dissensions among themselves; for one said that he was Paul's man, and held on his side; another said that he was Peter's man; the third did stick to Apollos, and so forth, even as our friars do now-a-days: one sect holdeth on St. Francis, another of St. Dominic, the third of St. Austin, &c. St. Paul rebuketh these sects, and called the persons carnal, commanding them to take Christ for their head, and to cleave only to him: and as for Apollos, Peter, and Paul, he saith, that they are but ministers of the word, every man according to the gift given him of God, the one more, the other less.

Paul planted, Apollos watered, that is, Paul set the Corinthians in the ground of Christ's faith, and then came Apollos and preached them further of Christ, and comforted them to abide in the way which they walked in: howbeit, it was only God that made them prosper in the word, and gave the increase. Nevertheless, every man shall receive according to his labour: if he preach much, the more shall be his reward; if he preach little, thereafter shall he be rewarded. For we are God's workmen to preach his word, and you are God's hus-

He that laboureth much in God's vineyard shall receive much, &c.

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bandry, whom we must till and dress, in declaring you the word and perpetual will of God. You are become God's building, through the grace of God, which he hath given me, whom we must frame and so couch by the word of God, that we may make of you a temple of living stones. Like a wise workmaster have I laid the foundation, for I first began to preach you Christ. Now cometh there another, and buildeth upon this my foundation, intending to instruct you further in the ways of Christ. But let every man take heed how he buildeth or preach unto you, for no man can lay any other foundation than is laid already; for all our building and preaching leaneth only on this point and principal stone, to declare unto you what Christ hath done for you.

What it is to build on gold, silver, or precious stones.

If any build on this foundation gold, silver, or precions stones; that is, if any man preach purely the word of God, which is likened to gold, silver, and precious stones, because that as these are not consumed with material fire, but rather made more pure, even so the pure word of God suffereth neither hurt nor damage in spiritual fire, that is temptation and persecution.

What it is to build on wood, hay, or stubble.

Or else if any man build upon this foundation wood, hay, or stubble; that is, if a man of good intent (but yet through ignorance) preach and teach you to stick unto ceremonies and men's traditions, (although they seem never so glorious,) and to such things as are not grounded on Scripture, (as St. Cyprian taught and defended, to re-baptise him that was once baptised and after fallen into heresy; yea, and many bishops consented unto him, yet was it surely a great error,) this is wood, hay, and stubble, that cannot endure the fire of temptation and light of God's word.

Cyprian.

Every man's work shall be declared, for the day shall open it. Albeit it prospers for a season in the dark, and cannot be perceived; yet when the day cometh, which is the light of God's word, it shall be

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espied and judged. The day shall open it that shall be revealed in fire, and the fire shall prove every man's work what it is. Fire signifieth temptation, tribulation, persecution, &c. which shall prove every man's works. If any man's work that he hath builded do abide this fire, that is, if the words that a man hath preached do abide all assaults and temptations, it is a token that they are surely grounded on the Scripture of God, and then shall the preacher receive his reward. If any man's work be burnt, that is, if the preacher's words will not abide the trial and light, but vanish away, then is it a token that they are not well grounded on Scripture, and so shall he suffer hurt, for it shall be a great cross and vexation to the preacher's heart that he hath been so deceived himself, and hath also led others into his error. Notwithstanding, he shall be saved, because of his faith in the foundation, which is Christ, and his ignorance shall be pardoned, since he erreth not of a malicious purpose, but of a good zeal. But yet shall it be, as it were, a fire to him; for it shall grieve his heart to see that he had laboured in vain, and that he must destroy the same which he before, through ignorance, preached. This is the process and pure understanding of the text.

How every man's work is tried by fire.

There is no man but he granteth that these words, foundation, laying of foundation, building, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, and stubble, are figuratively spoken: and why can they not suffer that this word fire be so taken too? But where they find this word fire, whatsoever the process be, there plant they purgatory by and by, without any further consideration. And yet, if they had any judgment at all, they might well perceive by Paul's own words, that he took not this word fire for material fire, as they grossly imagine, but proceeded in his allegory, and spake it figuratively: for Paul saith, He shall be saved, but so as it were through fire. Mark well his words; he saith not that

Words figuratively spoken.

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he shall be saved through fire: but as it were through fire, signifying that it shall be a great grief and vexation unto him. So that by these words of Paul, a very child may perceive what he meant.

Furthermore, if they be so stiff-necked that they will not bow to the truth, but still persevere in their own phantasies, feigning purgatory out of this place, then will I boldly say unto them, that there shall no man enter into it but only preachers. For in this place Paul only speaketh of them, and affirmeth that it is their preaching and learning that shall be so proved through fire, and that such a preacher shall be saved, but yet as it were through fire. And therefore may the temporalty be of good comfort, for I promise them that by this text they shall never have hurt in this their painful purgatory.

M. More. "DOTH not our blessed Saviour himself say that there is a certain sin which a man may so commit against the Holy Ghost, that it shall never be remitted nor forgiven, neither in this world nor in the world to come? Now when our Lord saith that the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the world to come, he giveth us clear knowledge, that of other sins some shall be forgiven in this world, and some in the world to come."

Matt. xii.

Frith. Although this argument be a very sophism, yet is there neither one rule in sophistry that can prove this argument, nor yet one sophister so foolish as to grant it.

A subtle sophism.

For if I should say unto mine enemy that I would neither forgive him as long as I lived, nor after my death, because he had done me some heinous trespass; then would men count him worse than mad, that would say, Frith will not forgive his enemy as long as he liveth, nor after his death; *ergo*, some men will forgive their enemies after their death. For when I say that I will not forgive him, neither in my life nor after my

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death, I mean that I will never forgive him, and make that addition, because he should not of foolishness look for any such forgiveness.

There is no remission of sins after this life.

But thus followeth the argument well: It shall not be forgiven in this world nor in the world to come; *ergo*, it shall never be forgiven. And even so doth the holy evangelist St. Mark expound these words of Christ in the third chapter. For Matthew saith, chap. xii., He that speaketh against the Holy Ghost, shall never have it forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come.

Mark iii.

Mark expoundeth it thus: He that speaketh a blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, hath no remission for ever, but is guilty unto everlasting damnation.

But of this I have spoken sufficiently before, (in solving the text 1 John v.) both what the sin [is], and also how the text is to be understood. Neither affirmeth the Scripture in any place that any sin is forgiven after this life, but saith, Be ready, for ye know not the time when the Lord shall come; as who should say, in this life is remission and full mercy to be had; labour therefore to attain it, for after this life is no such forgiveness; but even as the Lord findeth thee, so shall he judge thee.

His next and last argument of Scripture is this:

M. More.

Matt. xii.

"CHRIST saith, as it is rehearsed in Matt. xii., that men shall yield a reckoning of every idle word, and that shall be after this present life. Then wotteth every man, that by that reckoning is understood a punishment therefore, which shall not be in hell, and much less in heaven, and therefore can it be no where else but in purgatory."

Frith.

M. More doth quite overthrow himself.

Verily, I have not heard of a patron that so unprofitably defendeth his client, nor yet of any man that giveth him such proper trips to cast himself, except he went about to betray and utterly destroy the part which he would seem to favour; for this text maketh more against

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him than any that he brought before seemeth to make with him. The words of Matthew are these: I tell you, that of every idle word that men speak, shall they yield a reckoning in the day of judgment; but that leaveth he out full craftily. Now let us reason of this text. By the reckoning is understood a punishment for the sin, (as Master More saith himself,) and this reckoning shall be upon the day of doom; *ergo*, then this punishment for sin cannot be before the day of doom, but either upon or else after the day of doom; for God will not first punish them, and then after reckon with them to punish them anew. And so is purgatory quite excluded, for all they that ever imagined any purgatory, do put it before the judgment; for when Christ cometh to judgment, then ceaseth purgatory, as they all consent: neither is there any prayer or suffrage which at that time can do any help at all. And so hath Master More by this text given himself a proper fall.

Here by M. More's argument purgatory is quite excluded.

Here may you see how strong his reasons are, and what will happen to him that taketh in hand to defend the falsehood against the truth of God's word; for his reasons make more against him than with him. You may well know, that if his matter had been any thing likely, he would have coloured it of another fashion. But since such a patron, so greatly recommended for his conveyance and wisdom, handleth this matter so slenderly, you may well mistrust his cause. This is the last reason grounded of Scripture, wherewith he hath laboured to prove purgatory. And after this reason, he reckoneth up the doctors, and saith for his pleasure that all make for him: but as touching the doctors, I will make a sufficient answer in the third part, which is against my Lord of Rochester.

Thus he leaveth the Scripture, which he hath full unmannerly handled, and now endeavoureth himself to prove his purpose by some probable reasons. And first he bringeth in his old argument, that the church can-

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not err, to the which reason I need not to answer, for William Tyndale hath declared abundantly in a treatise, which by God's grace you shall shortly have, what the church is, and also that it both may err, and doth err, if the Pope and his adherents be the church, as M. More imagineth.

M. More. AFTER this he confirmeth his fantasy with fantastical apparitions, saying, that "there have in every country, and in every age, apparitions been had, and well known and testified, by which men have had sufficient revelation and proof of purgatory. How many have by God's most gracious favour appeared to their friends after their death, and showed themselves, holpen and delivered thence by pilgrimages, almsdeeds, prayer, &c. If they say that these be lies, then they be much worse than their master, Luther himself, for he consenteth in his sermons that many such apparitions be true: and they be true, then must there needs be a purgatory."

M. More is a subtle sophister. Here playeth Master More the subtle sophister, and would deceive men with a fallacy, which lieth in this word true, so that when he saith that such apparitions be true, this sentence may be taken two manner of ways: one, that it is true that such fantastical apparitions do appear to divers, and that I think no man be so foolish but he will grant him.

And yet indeed are they no souls, but very devils that so appear to delude men, that they should fall from the faith of Christ and make a God of their own works, trusting to be saved thereby. But to suppose this true, that they are the souls of purgatory which so appear, is very fond, false, and against all Scripture;

Isaiah viii. for Isaiah saith, Shall we go from the quick unto the dead? that is, shall we inquire of the dead, and believe them in such points as concern our wealth? Nay, saith he, but unto the law and witness, that is, unto God and his word.

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And so are we monished by Isaiah, in the 8th chapter, that we believe no such fantasies. We are commanded by the law of God that we inquire not of the dead, not for the truth, for God abhorreth it. (Deut. xviii.)

Truth is not to be sought of the dead.

Besides that, the parable of the rich man and Lazarus doth utterly condemn all such apparitions, that they are no souls which appear, but very devils. For when the rich man desired that Lazarus might go and warn his brethren, that they should not come into that place of pain, Abraham answered, that they had Moses and the Prophets, adding also, that if they believed not them, then would they not believe although one should rise again and tell it them.

Luke xvi.

And so may I conclude, that it were in vain to send them any such apparitions of souls, and that in very deed there are no souls sent of God, but that they are verily devils, which come to delude the people, and to withdraw them from Christ. Furthermore, all men grant that the appearing of Samuel was but an illusion of the devil: thou shalt find the story, 1 Kings xxviii.

1 Kings xxviii.

It was not long since such a question was moved in Oxford. The thing was this: there was a poor man of the country, which was sore troubled with such apparitions, for there came a thing to him which desired him to go certain pilgrimages, and to do certain other ceremonies, whereby it said that it should be delivered from innumerable torments which it now suffered. The poor man believed that this thing said truth, and did as it commanded. Notwithstanding, it came so often unto him, that what with labour, and what with fear, the man was almost beside himself, and then was he sent to Oxford to ask counsel what was best to be done. The question was moved to one Dr. Nicolas, and he affirmed by and by that it was no soul, but the very devil, and that he should no more follow the fiend's appetite. Then was it moved to Dr. Kyngton, and he affirmed the same. Finally, they inquired of Dr. Roper, what his

An apparition of a spirit moved to certain of Oxford.

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mind was therein, and he said that he would look on his book, and when he had looked his pleasure, he gave this answer: Let him alone awhile, (quoth he) and I warrant you that this fellow shall either hang himself, or drown himself, or come to some other mischief. Thus determined these men, which are a great deal too superstitious to dissent from any of the old doctors, yea, or else from their own schoolmen. And yet would M. More make us believe that they were very souls, and that by such ceremonies they might be delivered.

Now cometh M. More to solve those two reasons that were brought against purgatory in the Supplication of Beggars, which was the whole occasion of his book; and mark how slender his solutions are. The first reason is this: If there were any purgatory out of which the Pope might deliver one soul by his pardon, then may he by the same authority deliver many; and if he may deliver many, then may he deliver them all. The second reason is this: If he can deliver them for money, then may he also deliver them without money. And then is he a very cruel tyrant which keepeth them in pains so intolerable (as he imagineth himself,) until they pay money.

M. More, his solution of the two former reasons.

THE first he solveth on this manner: "Since our Lord sendeth them thither for satisfaction to be made in some manner for their sin, the Pope should rather, against God's purpose, deliver them free, than change the manner of their satisfaction from pain into prayer, alms, or other good works to be done by their friends for them, in some point profitable and necessary for the whole corps of Christendom, or some good member of the same."

As concerning satisfaction, I have spoken sufficiently before against Rastell. The Scripture knoweth no other satisfaction to be made for sin towards God, but only

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the blood of his son Jesus Christ; for if there were another satisfaction, then died Christ in vain; yea, and he that seeketh any other satisfaction for his sin (towards God) than Christ's blood, (which must be received with a repenting heart through faith,) doth despise Christ's blood and tread it under his feet. And so is the first part of M. More's solution false, that they should be shut in purgatory to make satisfaction.

M. More's argument is false.

Besides that, where he saith "That if the Pope should so deliver them, he should deliver them free;" I say Nay; for the Pope can deliver no man from thence until satisfaction be made; as both he and all his adherents grant. And therefore to find a way how he might seem to deliver them, he feigneth that he hath in his hands the merits of Christ's passion, and the merits of all saints, to distribute them at his pleasure. And therefore might the Pope apply the merits of Christ's passion and of other saints unto these silly souls, and so deliver them, for those merits are enough to satisfy for the souls in purgatory, if there were ten times so many; and so should the Pope deliver them, not free, but changing the manner of their satisfaction from pain into the merits of Christ's passion and of all saints. And so is this reason not abated, but rather stronger than it was before. Howbeit to say the truth, the merits of Christ's passion are only distributed unto the faithful, and that by God and his Spirit, and not by the Pope. And as for the merits of saints [they] cannot help other, for they have too little for themselves, if God should enter into judgment with them. (Psalm civ.) And Christ saith, (Luke xvii.) When you have done all that is commanded you, say, we are unprofitable servants. To this well agreeth the parable of the ten virgins, (Matt. xxv.) which could not depart with any of their oil, for fear that they should not have had enough for themselves.

Christ saith

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THE second reason biteth him somewhat, and therefore he calleth it unreasonable, and would avoid it by an example on this wise:—

M. More's answer to the second reason.

"Presupposed that the Pope may deliver all souls out of purgatory, yet if he were therefore cruel as oft as he leaveth any there,—this unreasonable reason layeth cruelty unto the blame of God, which may undoubtedly deliver all souls thence, and yet he leaveth them there. This blasphemy should also touch his high majesty for keeping any soul in hell, from whence no man doubteth but that he might, if he list, deliver them all for ever."

Frith.

I answer, that the example is nothing like, for God can deliver no man neither from hell nor from purgatory, (if such one were,) until his justice be counterpoised; as I have sufficiently proved against Rastell. And if you object his absolute power, then answer I, that he hath an absolute justice as well as an absolute power, and so can his absolute power do nothing, until his absolute justice be satisfied. And

God cannot be against himself.

again I say, that God hath no power nor lust to do against his Scripture and himself; but his power and lust is to fulfil that he hath promised,—unto the faithful, everlasting glory, and unto the wicked, eternal damnation. So that God by his Scripture can deliver no man out of hell, for then had he power to make himself a liar, and so were he no God: neither can he deliver any man out of purgatory (supposed that there were one,) until his justice be pacified. But the Pope (as he saith himself) hath the full satisfaction in his own hand, whereby God's justice must be pacified; wherefore it is only the Pope's fault, which hath the satisfaction in his power, and will not give it till he have money, and not God's fault, which must needs tarry until satisfaction be made. And so is this reason as strong as it was before, and the Pope proved a cruel tyrant.

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BUT yet, to excuse the Pope, he saith, "It is not meet that the Pope should be so quick in deliverance; for so should he give a great occasion to men boldly to fall into sin, and little to care or fear how slowly they rise again, and that were not meet for his office." M. More.

Forsooth, this is a gentle reason. He may not be quick in deliverance, because he should give men occasion of sin. But for one penny he will quite deliver you, and that with speed; for if ye offer a penny into St. Dominic's box, as soon as ye hear the penny ring in the box, even so soon is the soul in heaven. Call you not that quick deliverance? If you give not that penny, then may he not deliver the soul, for it should be an occasion of sin; but if you give that penny, then is there no such occasion of sin. Such great virtue hath that one penny in M. More's sight, that it clean wipeth away the occasion of sin. Frith. A penny offered into St. Dominic's box worketh great matter. Note what virtue is in a penny.

Furthermore, if this redemption may be done for money, it shall be still an occasion unto the rich that they regard not sin, and yet they had more need to be bridled than the poor; for where riches and abundance are, there reigneth sin most of all. Howbeit, I have showed sufficiently before against Rastell, that they which fear not to sin but for fear of purgatory, shall never come into it, but be damned in hell. For we should not abstain from sin for any fear, but for the pure love that we have to God our most merciful Father, &c.

THEN cometh Master More to this imagination, that we should say, how "No man's prayer or good deed can help another. And (saith he,) if that were true, then could not Christ's bitter passion profit us." M. More.

Sir, my opinion of Christ's death is this: 1. We have all sinned in Adam, without our own consent and work. Frith. John Frith declareth his opinion of Christ's death.

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1. And we are loosed from sin through Christ, without our works or deservings.

2. Sin is come into the world through Adam, and is punished with death.

2. The death through Christ is turned into a medicine, and clean finisheth sin.

3. One man's sin, which is Adam, hath condemned many men.

3. One man's grace, which is Christ, hath vanquished sin and holpen many.

4. If one man's sin be able to condemn us without our works,

4. Then much more is God's grace of power to save us without our works.

5. Sin, through Adam, was planted in us.

5. Grace, through Christ, is planted in us.

6. Sin hath had dominion over all men through Adam.

6. Grace prevaileth over us, through Christ.

7. Death, through sin, is planted in us.

7. Life, through grace, is planted in us.

8. Death, through sin, hath dominion over us.

8. Life, through grace, prevaileth over us.

9. Sin and death have condemned all men.

9. Grace and life have saved all men.

10. Through Adam, Adam's sin was counted our own.

10. Through Christ, Christ's righteousness is reputed unto us for our own.

Of this may you perceive that we think that Christ's death profiteth us, for we take his death and resurrection for our whole redemption and salvation.—Now as concerning men's good deeds and prayers, I say that they profit our neighbours; yea, and good works were ordained for that intent, that I should profit my neighbour through them; and prayer ought to be made to God for every state. But if I should grant that such works and prayers should help them that are departed,

How men's prayers and good deeds do help one another.

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then should I speak clean without my book, for the word of God knoweth no such thing. Let them, therefore, that pray for the dead examine themselves well with what faith they do it, for faith leaneth only on the word of God, so that where his word is not, there can be no good faith; and if their prayer proceed not of faith, surely it cannot please God. (Heb. xi.)

"NOW suppose" (saith M. More,) "that purgatory could in no wise be proved by Scripture, and that some would yet say plainly that there were one, and some would say plainly nay; let us now see whether sort of these twain might take most harm if their part were the wrong. First, he that believed there were purgatory, and that his prayer and good works wrought for his friends' souls, might relieve them therein, and because of that used much prayer and alms for them; he could not lose the reward of his good will, although his opinions were untrue, and that there were no purgatory at all. But, on the other side, he that believeth there is none, and therefore prayeth for none; if his opinion be false, and that there be purgatory indeed, he loseth much good, and getteth him also much harm. For he both feareth much less to sin, and to lie long in purgatory, saving that his heresy shall keep him thence, and send him down deep into hell." M. More.

I answer, that he should take most harm that believed there were a purgatory, if his opinion were wrong and could not be proved by the Scripture, (as M. More supposed,) for he should sin and transgress against the law of God, which saith, (Deut. xii.) That I command thee that only do unto the Lord, neither add any thing nor diminish. And before, in the fourth chapter of the same book, Ye shall not add unto the word that I speak unto you, neither shall ye take any thing from it. And again, in the fifth chapter, Ye shall not decline neither to the left hand, (doing that which is good in your own Frith.

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sight,) neither yet unto the right hand, (doing that which I manifestly forbid you,) as though he should say, Do that only which I command thee. And where M. More saith, that "he cannot lose the reward of his good will, although his opinion be untrue;" I answer Yes; for it is but chosen holiness, which Paul condemneth, (Colos. ii.) which surely shall rather be imputed unto him for sin than for any good work. And because (as I said before,) it cannot be done through faith, I say that it is utterly reproved of God. And on the other side, he that believeth it not, since it cannot be proved by Scripture, can catch no harm at all, although his opinion were false, but rather much good and praise, both of God and all good men; because he feareth to swerve from the word of God, and had lever not to believe that thing which is true, (be it in case that purgatory were,) and not set forth in Scripture, for so shall he be sure not to sin, than to believe for an article of the faith that thing which is false indeed, for so should he surely sin and transgress against God and his holy word. And so is there great peril to believe a thing for an article of the faith which is not opened nor spoken of in Scripture: but if I believe it not, (although it were true,) yet is there no right nor law that can condemn me. Now may you see, that to believe for an article of the faith that there is a purgatory, since it cannot be proved by Scripture, may condemn a man and make him lie for ever in the pains of hell; whereas the other should but a little longer lie in the pains of purgatory, (if there were one,) and so shall he be sure to catch most harm that believeth there is a purgatory. "Saving" (saith Master More,) "that his heresy shall keep him from thence, and send him down deep into hell."

It is better not to believe that which the Scripture alloweth not, than to make a faith where we should not.

M. More.

Frith. Before he supposed that it could not be proved by Scripture. And now (standing the same supposition,) he calleth it an heresy, and an heresy is a stiff-holden opi-

What is heresy.

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nion repugnant unto Scripture. If purgatory cannot be proved by Scripture, (as he maketh his supposition,) then cannot the contrary opinion be repugnant to Scripture, and thus of his own supposition he doth evil to call it an heresy. And where he saith, that his opinion shall send him down deep into hell, verily he steppeth too far in God's judgment to conclude and determine so cruelly, and especially in the same argument where he supposeth that it cannot be proved, for if it cannot be proved by Scripture, whereby will ye condemn him so deep that holdeth the contrary? Forsooth, you are a fierce judge. God give you eyes to see!

M. More is a sore judge

"Finally, if ye pity any man in pain, never knew ye pain comparable to ours, whose fire passeth as far in heat all the fires that ever burned upon earth, as the hottest of all those passeth a feigned fire painted on a wall."

M. More.

The fire of purgatory is a marvellous hot fire.

Verily, among all his other poetry it is reason that we grant him this; yea, and that our fire is but water in comparison to it, for, I ensure you, it hath alone melted more gold and silver, for our spiritualty's profit, out of poor men's purses, than all the goldsmiths' fires within England, neither yet therewith can the raging heat be assuaged, but it melteth castles, hard stones, lands and tenements innumerable. For all your sects of religion, Monks, Friars, Canons, and Nuns, with other priests regular and secular, by this fire, multiplication and alchymy, have obtained their whole riches and pleasures, even the sweat of England. And so must we grant him that this fire is very hot.

Frith.

Behold here the force of the fire of purgatory.

Now may you well perceive what a slender foundation their hot purgatory hath; for by this confutation may you easily see that it hath no ground nor authority of Scripture. Notwithstanding, it is the foundation of all religions and cloisters, yea and of all the goods that now are in these spiritualties. Are not they witty work-

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men which can build so much on so slender a foundation? howbeit they have made it so top-heavy, that it is surely like to have a fall. Thus hath Master More a full answer, both to his Scriptures, which were too far wrested out of their places, and also to his own apparent reasons. Howbeit if his mastership be not fully pacified, let him more groundly open his mind, and bring for his purpose all that he thinketh to make for it, and I shall by God's grace shortly make him an answer and quiet his mind.

M. More fully answered to all that he can say for purgatory.

Thus endeth the Second Book.

THE THIRD BOOK,

WHICH ANSWERETH UNTO MY LORD OF ROCHESTER, AND DECLARETH THE MIND OF THE OLD DOCTORS.

NOW will I address me to the third part, which shall be an answer unto my Lord of Rochester. And all his reasons and arguments, both of the Scriptures and Doctors, which are not before dissolved in the second part, will I clean confute (by God's grace) in this third book. Howbeit, the chiefest of his Scriptures hath M. More perused, and hath in a manner nothing but that was before written by my Lord of Rochester, saving that he maketh the silly souls to pule, to help his matter withal. My Lord of Rochester is the first patron and defender of this fantasy. And even as M. More took his work out of my Lord of Rochester's, even so plucked Rastell his book out of M. More's.

M. More was the Bishop of Rochester's disciple.

Rochester the first patron of purgatory.

My Lord of Rochester, to confirm his sentence, reckoneth up the doctors by heap; M. John, M.

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William, M. Thomas, *et omnes*. But as concerning the doctors, that they are not so fully on his side as he would make them seem, is soon proved. And where should I better begin to confute him, than of his own words? for he writeth himself upon the 18th article on this manner:

"There is no man now-a-days that doubteth of purgatory, (saith he,) and yet among the old ancient fathers was there either none, or else very seldom mention made of it. And also among the Grecians, even unto this day, is not purgatory believed. Let him read that will the commentaries of the old Grecians, and as I suppose, he shall find either no words spoken of it, or else very few." — Rochester. — The Bishop of Rochester's own words.

These are my Lord's words. I wonder what obliviousness is come upon him, that he so cleaveth unto the doctors, whom he affirmed before either to make no mention of it, or else very seldom. Notwithstanding, I will declare you somewhat of the doctors, that you may the better know their meaning. — Frith.

To speak of the doctors, and what their mind was in this matter, it were necessary to declare in what time they were, and what condition the world was in their days. St. Austin, Ambrose, and Hierome were in one time, even about four hundred years after Christ; and yet before their time were there arisen infinite heretics by whole sects, as the Arians, Domitians, Eunomians, Vigilantians, Pelagians, with infinite other, which had so swerved from the truth, and wrested the Scripture out of frame, that it was not possible for one man, no, nor for one man's age, to restore it again unto the true sense. Among these there were some which not only feigned a purgatory, but also doted so far, that they affirmed that every man, were he never so vicious, should be saved through that fire, and alleged for them the place of Paul, 1 Corinthians iii. These holy doc- — Sects of heretics. — 1 Cor. iii.

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tors perceiving those great errors, thought it not best, by and by, to condemn all things indifferently, but to suffer and dissemble with the less, that they might weed out the opinions which were most noisome, as the Apostles granted unto the Jews, that the Gentiles should keep some of Moses' law, (Acts xv.) that they might the better come to their purpose to save the Jews with the Gentiles. For if they had at the first utterly set off the law, then would the Jews never have given any audience unto the apostles. And even so St. Austin went wisely to work, first condemning by the Scripture that error which was most noisome; and wrote on this manner: Albeit some might be purged through fire, yet not such as the Apostle condemneth, when he saith, that the persons which so do, shall not possess the kingdom of heaven. And where they would have stuck unto Paul's text, (1 Cor. iii.) and affirm that they should be saved through fire, St. Austin answered, that Paul's text was understood of the spiritual fire, which is temptation, affliction, tribulation, &c. This wrote he in the 67th and 68th of his Enchiridion, to subvert that gross error, that all should be saved through the fire of purgatory. Yet in the 69th, he goeth a little near them, and saith, that it may be doubted whether there be any such purgatory or not. He durst not yet openly condemn it, because he thought that men could not at that time bear it. But after in his book which he entitled *De vanitate hujus sæculi*, there doth he fully show his mind in these words: *Scitote quòd cum anima à corpore avellitur, statim aut pro meritis bonis in Paradiso collocatur, aut pro meritis malis in inferni tartara præcipitatur;* i. e. Wot ye well, that when the soul is departed from the body, either it is by and by put into paradise, according to his good deserts, or else it is thrust headlong into hell for his sins.—Here he clean condemneth purgatory: for if this be done by and by, as soon as the soul is departed from the body, then

Acts xv.

St. Austin.

St. Austin showeth what he thought of purgatory.

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can there be no purgatory; and so maketh St. Austin wholly with us. Think ye that St. Austin dissenteth from his companion St. Hierome, or from his own master, St. Ambrose? Nay, verily; howbeit I will allege their own words, and then judge.

Saint Ambrose.

St. Ambrose dissenteth not from St. Austin, but doth establish his sentence as fully as is possible; for he writeth in the second chapter of his book which is called *De bono mortis*, on this manner, bringing in the words of David. (Psalm xxix.) *Advena ego sum in terra, et peregrinus sicut omnes patres mei. Et ideo tanquam peregrinus ad illam sanctorum communem omnium patriam festinabat, petens pro hujus commorationis inquinamento remitti sibi peccata, priusquam discederet de vita. Qui enim hìc non acceperit remissionem peccatorum, illic non erit. Non erit autem, quia ad vitam æternam non potuerit pervenire, quia vita æterna remissio peccatorum est. Ideoque dicit, remitte mihi ut refrigerer priusquam abeam, &c.*; that is, I am a stranger and a pilgrim in the earth, as all my fathers have been. And therefore, as a pilgrim, he hasted unto the common country of all saints, requiring for the filthiness that he had received in this bodily mansion, that his sins might be forgiven him before he departed from this life. For he that here hath not received forgiveness of his sins, shall not be there. He shall not surely be there, for he cannot come unto everlasting life, for everlasting life is the forgiveness of sins. And therefore he saith, Forgive me, that I may be cooled before I depart.—Here may you evidently perceive, that St. Ambrose knew not of purgatory, nor of any forgiveness that should be after this life; but plainly affirmeth, that he that receiveth not forgiveness of his sins here, (that is, in this life,) shall never come in heaven. And for a more vehement affirmation, he doubleth his own words, saying, He that here hath not received forgiveness of his sins, he shall

St. Ambrose showeth his opinion of purgatory.

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not be there, he shall not surely be there. He meaneth that he shall never come to heaven, which here hath not his remission.

Saint Hierome. Eccles. ix.

St. Hierome's mind may soon be gathered by his exposition of the ninth chapter of Ecclesiastes, upon this text: The dead have no part in this world, nor in any work that is done under the sun. There addeth St. Hierome, that the dead can add nothing unto that which they have taken with them out of this life, for they can neither do good nor sin, neither can they increase in virtue or vice. Albeit (saith he,) some will contrary this exposition, affirming also that we may increase and decrease after death.

All suffrages, prayers, and good deeds done for the dead are in vain.

1. Here are three things to be noted: first, that the text saith, that the dead are not partakers of any work that is done under the sun. And there may you see that all suffrages, offerings, and diriges for the dead are in vain, and profit them not, for they are partakers of nothing under the sun.

2. Secondarily, you may see St. Hierome's own mind, that the dead can neither do good nor evil, neither increase in virtue nor vice. And so is purgatory put out; for if they can do no good, what should they do in purgatory? And again, if they cannot increase in virtue, they be like to lie long in purgatory. Peradventure some man would think that they do no good, but only that they suffer good. To that I answer, that he that suffereth good, doth good; for if a man should suffer his body to be burnt for the faith of Christ, would you not say that he did a good deed? and yet doth he but suffer.

The dead can neither do good nor evil, nor increase in virtue.

3. Thirdly, ye may note, that St. Hierome was not ignorant that certain (as they which did feign purgatory,) would deny his exposition, and say that we might increase and decrease in virtue and vice after death; yet notwithstanding, he held his sentence, condemning

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their opinion, which thing he would not have done (specially since he knew that he should have adversaries for it,) except he had been sure that his sentence was right. See, I pray you, how that not only Scripture, but even their own Doctors condemn this fantastical purgatory: and yet my lords are not ashamed to say that all make for them.

The sayings of the doctors are no farther to be credited than they agree with the Scripture.

Nevertheless, I will go further with him. Be it in case that all the doctors did affirm purgatory, as they do not, what were my Lord the nearer his purpose? Verily not one iota; for the authority of doctors, by my Lord's own confession, extendeth no further, but is only to be admitted whilst they confirm their words by Scripture, or else by some probable reason. For my Lord writeth on this manner: (Article 37) "The Pope hath not so allowed the whole doctrine of St. Thomas, that men should believe every point he wrote were true. Neither hath the church so approved either St. Augustin or St. Hierome, nor any other author's doctrine, but that in some places we may dissent from them, for they in many places have openly declared themselves to be men, and many times to have erred."

Rochester.

The doctors have erred in many things.

These are my Lord's own words. Now since the doctors sometimes err, and in certain places are not to be admitted, (as he granteth himself,) how should we know when to approve them, and when to deny them? If we should hang on the doctors' authority, then should we as well allow the untruth as the truth, since he affirmeth both. Therefore we must have a judge to discern between truth and falsehood. And who should that be? the Pope? Nay verily, for he being a man, (as well as the doctors were,) may err as they did, and so shall we ever be uncertain. Our judge, therefore, must not be partial, flexible, nor ignorant (and so are all natural men excluded); but he must be unalterable, even searching the bottom and ground of all things.

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The word of God is the touchstone, and trieth all of all doctrine.

Who must that be? Verily, the Scripture and word of God, which was given by his Son, confirmed and sealed by the Holy Ghost, and testified by miracles and blood of all martyrs. This word is the judge that must examine the matter, the perfect touchstone that trieth all things, and day that discloseth all juggling mists. If the doctors say any thing not dissonant from this word, then it is to be admitted and holden for truth. But if any of their doctrine discord from it, it is to be abhorred, and holden accursed.

St. Austin.

To this full well agreeth St. Austin, which writeth unto St. Hierome on this wise: Dear brother, I think that you will not have your books reputed like unto the works of the prophets and apostles; for I (the Scripture reserved) do read all other men's works on that manner, that I do not believe them because the author so saith, be he never so well learned and holy, except that he can certify me, by the Scripture or clear reason, that he saith true. And even so would I that other men should read my books as I read theirs.—These are St. Austin's words: and thus have I proved, both by St. Austin and also by my Lord's own words, that no man is bound to believe the doctors, except they can be proved true, either by Scripture or good reason not repugnant to Scripture. Therefore let us see what Scripture or good reason my Lord bringeth to approve his doctors withal, for else they cannot help him (as we have declared both by St. Austin and my Lord's own confession,) although they all made with him, as they do not. First, he bringeth in "the sin against the Holy Ghost." (Matt. xii.) And Paul, 1 Cor. iii., and 1 John v., and Apoc. v.; which texts I pass over, because I have answered unto them before in the second book against M. More.

St. Austin read old authors, and would also have all men read his works.

The first reason that my Lord hath, which is not before solved, (for, as I said, the reasons that are

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already dissolved, will I now overhip) is this, which he groundeth on divers Scriptures. "Of the souls that are departed, some are already damned in hell, and some are already in heaven." And to prove this true, he allegeth the parable of the rich man. (Luke xvi.) I am sure my Lord is not so ignorant as to say that a parable proveth any thing. But the right use of a parable is this, to expound a hard text or point that was before touched, and could not enter into every man's capacity. Neither are all things like which are spoken in a similitude, neither yet all things true that are touched in a parable; but we must consider the thing wherefore they be spoken, and apply them only to that they are spoken for, and let the residue go, as William Tyndale hath well declared unto you in the parable of wicked Mammon. This parable is very hard to be expounded. The cause is this: no man can well espy by the text for what purpose it was spoken. But this should seem to be the cause, that there were many of the Pharisees and other multitude which would not believe the preaching of Christ, although he confirmed his words with the authority of Moses and the prophets; but they were curious, and some deal fantastical, and therefore would they not believe his words, except some apparitions had been made unto them, that they might have been assured by them that were before dead, that his words were true.

Rochester.

Luke xvi.

Parables in the Scripture prove nothing, but only open and expound dark and hard things.

Unto such it is like that he speaketh this parable, plainly concluding that they should have no such apparitions of the dead, and also that it was not necessary; but that they had Moses and the prophets, to whom, if they would give no credence, then should they not believe although one of the dead should rise again and tell it them. Notwithstanding, let me grant it him, that some are already in hell, and some in heaven, (which thing he shall never be able to prove by the Scripture, yea, and which plainly destroyeth the resur-

By Moses and the prophets is meant the Old Testament.

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rection, and taketh away the arguments wherewith Christ and Paul do prove that we shall rise) yet, I say, let me grant it him, to see how he will conclude. What followeth on that?

Rochester. "Neither it is creditable," (saith he) "that all which are cast into hell should straightway go to heaven, therefore must we put a purgatory, where they may be purged."

Frith. I answer: All that live are faithful or unfaithful. If he be unfaithful, then is he damned. (John iii.) If he believe, then is he not condemned, but is gone from death to life. (John iii. v.) The righteous man, when he dieth, shall rest in peace. (Sapien. iii.) And every faithful man is righteous before God, as the whole Epistle to the Romans proveth. *Ergo*, then every faithful man shall rest in peace and not be tormented in the pains of purgatory. And as touching this point, where they rest, I dare be bold to say that they are in the hand of God, and that God would that we should be ignorant where they be, and not to take upon us to determine the matter.

There are but two places after this life, that is, heaven and hell.

Peradventure you would inquire of me (since the parable saith that Lazarus rested in Abraham's bosom,) what Abraham's bosom is? To that would I answer, that Abraham's bosom were nothing else than Abraham's faith; for all we are called the children of Abraham, because of his perfect faith, which we ought to follow. In this faith are many and in a manner infinite degrees; notwithstanding, if it be no greater than a mustard seed, that is to say very small, yet shall it save us. He that departeth in this faith resteth in peace, and waiteth for the last day, when God shall give unto his faithful, that is, to his elect, (for only are the elect faithful, and the faithful elect) the crown of his glory, which he hath prepared for them that love him. This crown, doth Paul say, that he shall receive it in that day, (2 Tim. iv.) that is, in the day of judg-

Abraham's bosom, what it signifieth.

The elect are faithful, and the faithful are elect.

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ment. And in the mean season God hath so provided for us, that they shall wait until the number of their brethren which daily suffer and shall suffer for Christ, be wholly fulfilled, and so shall they not be made perfect without us. (Heb. xi.) If my Lord will understand by Abraham's bosom, heaven, I will not be contentious; let the Christian judge which sentence seemeth most true. But this is once a clear case, that of this he can prove no purgatory; for the unfaithful are already damned, and the faithful rest in peace, let him call that what he will, whether to rest in heaven or to rest in their faith until the last day; for I am sure there is no man so mad as to say, that to rest in peace should signify to lie in the pains of purgatory.

Abraham's bosom can prove no purgatory.

To rest in peace is not to lie in torments.

Furthermore, this text shall rather make sore against him than any thing with him. For Lazarus, whilst he was living, was not without sin, nor no man else (1 John, i.); so that no man, as long as he hath breath in his body, can say that he is without sin, for then should he make St. John a liar. And yet was not Lazarus carried into purgatory to be purged of his sins, which were remaining in his body the hour of his death; wherefore I may conclude that there is no such purgatory. For God is as just unto him as unto us, and therefore would he purge him as well as us; and again he is as merciful unto us as unto him, and will as well forgive us as him, without broiling on the coals in purgatory; for his justice and mercy are ever one, and not alterable. But our perfect purgation is the pure blood of Christ, which washeth away the sin of the world. And albeit, we have the remnants and dregs of sin and rebellion of our members, as long as we have life, yet are they wholly finished in death; for of such efficacy is Christ's death, that it hath turned the death of his faithful (which was laid upon us as the pain of sin) into a medicine against sin, which fully cureth it,

1 John, i.

A good conclusion against purgatory.

Christ's death hath overcome our death, and turned it into life.

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and maketh an end of it, as it was well figured in Goliath that was slain with his own sword.

Rochester. AND whereas my Lord bringeth for his purpose
Matt. xii. (Matt. xii.) that "Men shall give account of every idle
Frith. word," I have solved that before against M. More, that I think he shall say himself that he is answered. For if men shall give a reckoning for them on the day of doom (as the text saith) that should rather argue that there were no purgatory wherein those sins should be purged; for if they had been purged before of them, then should they not give an account for them.

If there be any purgatory it must be after doomsday, for before there can be none. And if it proved any thing at all, it should prove that there were a purgatory after doomsday, which no man was eyer so foolish as to grant.

Faithful. But the true understanding of this text is this: there are two kinds of men, one faithful, the other unfaithful. The faithful, through their faith in Christ's blood, are already fully purged in their heart, and their rebellious members, through death, are wholly subdued. These men shall give no reckoning, neither of idle word nor evil deed; for all their sins are covered of Christ, and his blood shall give the whole accounts for them. The

Unfaithful. unfaithful, to their utter confusion, shall have the book of their conscience opened, and there shall be presented before them all their evil deeds, words, and thoughts. And these are they that Christ speaketh of which shall give this great account. Note also that in the text they

Men. are called men, which word in Scripture is ever for the most part taken in the worst sense, and signifieth wicked men, fleshly men, and men that follow their own lusts and appetites.

Rochester. THEN confirmeth he purgatory out of the 66th
Psal. lxvi. Psalm, which saith, "We have gone through fire and water, and thou hast brought us into coldness." I am
Frith. sure you have not forgotten that M. More allegeth the

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prophet Zachary in the 9th, and affirmeth that there is no water in purgatory. It were hard to make these two agree, for when men ground them on a lie, then for the most part their tales and probations are contrary, and will not well stand together. Nevertheless, in one point they agree full well, that is, both of them say untruly; for neither nother text serveth any whit for purgatory. And as concerning the place of Zachary, it is sufficiently declared what it meaneth. And now will I also declare you the understanding of this text; and first, that it cannot serve for purgatory. I beseech you that have the psalter, once to read the psalm, and I think you shall wonder at their doting dreams and ignorance, which allege this text for purgatory. The text of the Psalm is this: "Thou hast brought us into a strait, and laden our backs with trouble or heaviness. Thou hast set men upon our heads, we have gone through fire and water, and thou hast led us out again into a place of refreshing." The texts before and after, in the same Psalm, will not suffer that this place should be understood of purgatory. For the text immediately before saith, "thou hast set men upon our heads." But the chiefest defenders of purgatory (and even M. More himself) say that "they are not men, but devils which torment the souls in purgatory," notwithstanding my Lord of Rochester (good man!) affirmeth that they are "angels which torment the souls there;" but never man doted so far as to say that men torment the souls in purgatory; wherefore I may conclude that this text is not meant of purgatory, but that the prophet meant that men ran over the children of Israel, and subdued them, and wrapped them in extreme troubles, which in the Scripture are signified by fire and water. Besides that the texts following will not admit that this should be understood of purgatory; for it followeth immediately, I will enter into thy house with burnt offerings, I shall offer unto thee fat sacrifices, with the reek of

Zach. ix.

Rochester and More agree not.

A true interpretation of the 66th Psalm.

More and Rochester cannot agree.

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Souls in purgatory cannot offer oxen nor goats in sacrifice.

wethers, I shall burn to thee oxen and goats. Now is there no man so mad as to think that the souls of purgatory should offer unto God any such sacrifices; so that the text is plainly understood of the children of Israel, which through the Lord were delivered from their afflictions and enemies, and then offered their loyal sacrifices of praise and thanks to the Lord, their shield and protection.

Rochester.

NOW flieth my Lord unto the church, and saith, that, "Because the church hath affirmed it, we must

Frith.

needs believe it, for the church cannot err." As touching this point I will refer you unto a work that William Tyndale hath written against M. More, wherein ye shall well perceive what the church of Christ is, and that his church never determined any such thing. But that it is the synagogue of Satan that maketh articles of the faith, and bindeth men's consciences further than the Scripture will.

The church saith Rochester, meaning the Pope's church, cannot err.

THEN waxeth his Lordship somewhat hot against Martin Luther, because he would that no man should be compelled to believe purgatory; for my Lord saith that "It is profitable and well done to compel men to believe such things, whether they will or will not." And to establish his opinion, he plucketh out a word of

Luke xiv.

the parable of Luke xiv. that a certain man made a great supper, and said unto his servants, Go forth quickly into the ways and compel them to enter in.

Frith.

Verily, there Christ meant no other thing, but that

The parable of Luke xiv. truly interpreted.

his Apostles should go forth into all the world and preach his word unto all nations, opening unto them the miserable state and condition that they be in, and again, what mercy God hath showed them in his son Christ. This would Christ, that his apostles should expound and lay out so evidently, by reasons, scriptures, and miracles unto the Gentiles, that they should even, by their

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manifest persuasions, be compelled to grant unto them that he was Christ, and to take upon them the faith that is in Christ. On this manner did Christ compel the Sadducees to grant the resurrection. (Matt. xxii.) And by these means compelled he the Pharisees to grant in their consciences that he did his miracles with the power of God, and yet afterwards of very hate, knowing in their hearts the contrary, they said that he did them by the power of the devil. (Matt. xii.) But to say that Christ would have his disciples to compel men with prisonment, fetters, scourging, sword and fire, is very false, and far from the mildness of a Christian spirit, although my Lord approve it never so much. For Christ did forbid his disciples such tyranny, yea, and rebuked them because they would have desired that fire should descend from heaven to consume the Samaritans which would not receive Christ. (Luke ix.) But he commanded them that if men would not receive their doctrine, they should depart from thence and sprinkle off the dust of their feet to be a testimony against the unfaithful, that they had been there and preached unto them the word of life: but with violence will God have no man compelled unto his law. Paul also testifieth, (2 Cor. i.) that he had not rule over the Corinthians as touching their faith. By our faith we stand in the Lord, and by our infidelity we fall from him. As no man can search the heart but only God, so can no man judge or order our faith, but only God through his holy Spirit.

How men should be compelled to believe.

Christ was meek and gentle, and no tyrannous schoolmaster.

Luke ix.

Paul saith he had no power over their faith.

Furthermore, faith is a gift of God, which he distributeth at his own pleasure. (1 Cor. xii.) If he give it not this day, he may give it to-morrow. And if thou perceive by any exterior work that thy neighbour have it not, instruct him with God's word, and pray God to give him grace to believe: that is rather a point of a christian man, than to compel a man by death or exterior violence.

1 Cor. xii.

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Faith is not procured by violence, but is the mere and only gift of God.

Finally, what doth thy compulsion and violence? Verily, nothing, but make a stark hypocrite; for no man can compel the heart to believe a thing, except it see evidence and sufficient proof. I have heard tell of a boy, which was present at his father's burning for his belief, and as soon as the officers had espied the boy, they said each to other, Let us take him and examine him also, peradventure we shall find him as great an heretic as his father. When the boy saw that his father was dead, and that the catchpoles began to snatch at him, he was sore dismayed, and thought that he should die too; and when one of them apposed him, asking him how he believed, he answered, "Master, I believe even as it pleaseth you." Even so by torments and crafty handling a man may be compelled to say that he believeth the thing which he neither thinketh, nor yet can believe; for a man's faith is not in his own power.

Fear maketh faith no faith at all.

But how doth God accept this thing, to say that I believe that which indeed I believe not? Verily, he utterly condemneth it, whether the opinion be true or false. For if the opinion be true, (as by example, that the faith in Christ's blood justifieth me before God,) and I confess it before all the Bishops in England with my mouth, and believe it not with mine heart, then am I nothing the better, (for I should have no part of Christ's blood,) but I am much the worse. For first, God condemneth me, which judgeth me after mine heart; and also mine own heart condemneth me, because I have openly granted that mine heart denieth.

Faith is first the gift of God, and proceedeth from the heart, which may not be compelled.

And contrariwise, if I should believe this fully in mine heart, and yet for fear of persecution should deny it when I were examined openly of my faith, then shall I be condemned of God, (except I repent,) and also mine own heart shall be a witness to condemn me. And so it is very noisome and ungodly to be compelled unto any thing: for God ever searcheth the heart, which cannot be compelled.

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Rochester.

BUT my Lord objecteth writing upon the eighteenth article, saying, "If a man take away purgatory, for what intent shall we need any pardons? As long (saith he) as no man regarded purgatory, there was no man that sought any pardon: for all the estimation of pardons hangeth thereof, so that we shall have no need of them, if there be no purgatory."

Pardons.

Rochester saith herein very truly, and yet was not aware of it.

Verily, I care not, though I grant him that too. And I think that money was the mother of them both. For out of the Scripture shall he be able to prove neither nother.

Purgatory and pardons have been goodly merchandise for the clergy.

But Mammon is a great god, even of power enough to invent such knacks, yea, and to make them articles of the faith, and to burn those that cannot believe them; and it was a pretty practice to make such points articles of the faith. For after that our holy fathers had given up preaching, and would take no more pains, neither serve their brethren any more; then set they up such articles of the faith, as should bring in money to uphold their estate withal; and he that would not believe them, rid him out of the way for fear of disclosing their juggling; for he that doubteth of pardons and purgatory, he plucketh our holy father by the beard.

Rochester.

NOTWITHSTANDING, my Lord confirmeth both pardons and purgatory, by the text that Christ spake unto Peter. (Matt. xvi.) "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou bindest upon the earth, it shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou loosest on the earth, it shall be loosed in heaven." But these words (saith my Lord,) "had been spoken in vain if he could not give pardons, and loose men out of purgatory, &c."

Frith.

As touching the keys, albeit they have oftentimes been declared, and in a manner, in every treatise that hath been put forth in the English tongue, yet will I somewhat show my mind in them. There is but one

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The keys. Luke xi. The key of knowledge is the word of God.

key of heaven, which Christ calleth the key of knowledge, (Luke xi.) and this key is the word of God. Christ rebuked the lawgivers for taking away this key from the people; for they, with their traditions and false expositions, had fully excluded the key of knowledge, which is the word of God, and had clean shut up the Scripture, as ours have done now-a-days. It is also called the key of David, which shutteth, and no man openeth; openeth, and no man shutteth. (Apoc. iii.) And because of these two effects which it worketh, (for it both shutteth and openeth,) hath it the nomination of keys, and yet, (as I said,) indeed, it is but one, which is the word of God. This key, or keys, (now call it as you will, since you know what it meaneth,) Christ delivered unto Peter, and unto his other Apostles alike, which you shall easily perceive, if you mark where and when they were given. For Matt. xvi. they were only promised, and not yet given; for Christ said, "I will give thee the keys," and not, "I give thee." But after he was risen from death, then performed he his promise, and gave the keys to all indifferently, as thou mayest see John xx., and Luke xxiv. expoundeth it, that he opened their wits to understand the Scripture, that repentance and forgiveness might be preached, &c. Therefore, it is the word that bindeth and looseth through the preaching of it. For when thou tellest them their vices and iniquities, condemning them by the law, then bindest thou them by the word of God; and when thou preachest mercy in Christ unto all that repent, then dost thou loose them by the word of God. Therefore, he that preacheth not the word of God, can neither bind nor loose, no, though he call himself Pope. And, contrariwise, he that preacheth his word, he bindeth and looseth as well as Peter and Paul, although he be called but Sir John of the country. And, consequently, to say that the Pope can deliver any soul out of purgatory, (if there were one,) is but a vain lie, except

Apoc. iii.

Matt. xvi.

John xx. Luke xxiv. How Christ gave the keys to Peter and the rest of the Apostles.

To open and to shut, to bind and to loose, what it is.

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he can prove that he goeth down unto them, and preacheth unto them the word of God, (which is the salt that must season them, and key that must let them out,) for other loosing there is none. And, likewise, to say that the Pope can give any pardon to redeem sins, except he preach me that Christ's blood hath pardoned me, is even like vanity.

The Pope can deliver no soul out of purgatory, except he first go thither and preach unto them.

Methinketh also that he wadeth too deep to descend to purgatory by this text. For the text saith, That whatsoever he bindeth on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever he looseth on earth, &c. But now they grant themselves, that purgatory is not on earth, but the third place in hell; and therefore it passeth his bounds to stretch his hand to purgatory: and so this text cannot serve him.

Matt. xvi.

Purgatory is not on earth, but as Rochester saith, is the third place in hell.

NOTWITHSTANDING, my Lord is not content to give him this power only, but he hath so far waded in the Pope's power, that he hath granted him full authority to deliver all men from hell, if they be not damned already; for (saith he) "whosoever hath committed a capital crime, hath thereby deserved damnation: and yet may the Pope deliver him both from the crime, and also from the pain due unto it." And he affirmeth that three times, in article 21, for fear of forgetting.

Rochester.

Rochester is in this place far beside himself.

Upon this point will I a little reason with my Lord, and so will I make an end. If the Pope may deliver any man from the crime that he hath committed, and also from the pain due unto it, as you affirm, then may he by the same authority deliver twenty, a hundred, a thousand, yea and all the world; for I am sure you can show me no reason why he may deliver some, and not all. If he can do it, then let him deliver every man that is in the point of death, both from the crime and from the pain, and so shall never man more neither enter into hell nor yet into purgatory, which were the best deed and most charitablest that ever he did; yea,

Frith.

A plain declaration of the Pope's tyranny.

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and this ought he to do (if he could), although it should cost him his own life and soul thereto (as Moses and Paul give him example,) but yet there is no jeopardy of neither nother. Now, if he can do it (as you say,) and will not, then is he the most wretched and cruel tyrant that ever lived, even the very son of perdition, and worthy to be damned in an hundred thousand hells. For if he have received such power of God, that he may save all men, and yet will not, but suffer so many to be damned, I report me unto yourselves what he is worthy to have?

Ex. xxxii. Rom. ix.

The Pope a proud, shameless, and tyrannous antichrist.

Now if any man would solve this reason, and say that he may do it, but that it is not meet for him to do it, because that by their pains God's justice may be satisfied; I say that this their evasion is nothing worth, neither yet can I imagine any way whereby they may have any appearance to escape. For my Lord saith himself, that the Pope must pacify God's justice for every soul that he delivereth from purgatory, and therefore hath he imagined that the Pope hath in his hand the merits of Christ's passion, which he may apply at his pleasure where he will. And also, he saith, That the merits of Christ's passion are sufficient to redeem all the sins in the world. Now, since these merits on their part are sufficient to satisfy the justice of God, and redeem the whole world, and also that the Pope hath them in his hand to distribute at his pleasure, then lacketh there no more but even the Pope's distribution unto the salvation of the world. "For he may pacify God's wrath, and satisfy his justice (saith my Lord,) by applying these merits to them that lack good works." And so, if the Pope will, God's justice may be fully satisfied, and the whole world saved. Now if he may so justly and easily save the whole world, (charity also moving him unto it,) and yet will not apply these merits so fruitfully, then is the fault only his, and he the son of perdition, and worthy more pain

A blasphemous Pope and the devil's vicar.

The Pope is the son of perdition, worthy of more pain than can be imagined, if Rochester's doctrine be true.

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than can be imagined. And so is not the reason improved, but much more established, and, as I think, inevitable.

Behold, I pray you, whither my Lord of Rochester hath brought our Holy Father, in announcing his power so high, even into the deepest pit of hell, which (if my Lord said true) it is impossible for him to avoid. But it chanceth unto him even as it doth customably, where such pride reigneth; for when they are at the highest, then fall they down headlong unto their utter confusion and ruin.

If any man feel himself grieved, and not yet fully satisfied in this matter, let him write his mind, and by God's grace I shall make him an answer, and that with speed.

Pray, Christian Reader, that the word of God may increase. Amen.

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ANOTHER BOOK AGAINST RASTELL,

NAMED THE

SUBSIDY, OR BULWARK TO HIS FIRST BOOK,

MADE BY

JOHN FRITH,

PRISONER IN THE TOWER.

"Awake, thou that sleepest, and stand up from death, and Christ shall give thee light."—Eph. v.

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THE PROLOGUE.

IT needeth not, Christian Reader, (I think,) now that thou hast overread and diligently pondered in thine inward senses, that the treatise of John Frith, wherein he confuteth all the reasons which Rastell, More, and Rochester made for the maintenance and upholding of the bitter pains of purgatory, to commend unto thee this brief work following, named a Subsidy, Defence, or Bulwark to the same. And much less needeth it to dehort thee from the vain and childish fear which our forefathers have had of that place of purgatory, as their good works, which at this day remain upon the earth, founded for their thence deliverance, do testify. And forasmuch as thou art a Christian man, and rejoicest in Christ, I dare boldly affirm for thee, that thou takest neither pleasure nor joy of that place, like as some persons do, which triumphed of late, and with much joy and clapping of hands sent tidings into all parts, that purgatory was found again; because they read in a book named the Institution of a Christian man, this word purgatory. And yet have I not heard hitherto, that the self-same persons have showed any tokens of gladness for God's word translated into English; so that to me, they seem to rejoice more to have their silly souls purged with punishments

A subsidy, defence, or bulwark.

Much joy made for the finding of purgatory, although it were to small purpose.

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when they be departed, than to have purged them with the word of God while they be here. Who will think, but as they have uttered their hearts concerning purgatory with their tongues, even so say they in their stomachs, that their holy father the Pope, (whom we may as justly call the Bishop of Rome, seeing he is there the head of St. Peter's Church, as we may call the head of St. Paul's Church, in London, Bishop of London,) hath recovered again here, in England, his old authority, yea, that he never yet lost, because they find in their churches, copes, ropes, bells, and beads, with other like holiness, and on themselves long gowns, shaven crowns, and fingers anointed with the holy oil of idleness? For who will say but that these holy relics declare the Bishop of Rome as clerkly, as this word purgatory proveth a place to be where souls, after the departure from their bodies, suffer pains and punishments? Doth not this pretty pageant of purgatory signify and prognosticate what tragedy they will play hereafter, when the word of God shall blow and scatter from the face of the earth the dark clouds and mists of men's inventions, and shall scour away the rust of fleshly understanding of the Scriptures, in other things likewise as it hath done in this, if ought may be found in that book wherewith they may resist? That such things may be picked out of it, the fruit which commonly hath come of all councils, convocations, and synods since the apostles time, (very few excepted,) causeth me somewhat to fear; for if a man weigh the good with

Christ is divided into Peter Paul.

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the bad that hath sprung from them, he will, perchance, think that the lay-people of all estates may well and justly say, Farewell the one with the other; and no marvel, for they have not been all the children of one father that have been in councils, as they have not been all sheep that have gone in sheep's clothing; and oftimes the greater part overcometh the better. Which things, gathered by experience and by reading, causeth me oftentimes to wish, that they which would be counted sincere and true ministers of the gospel, either might, and would clean abstain from such councils, that they have no part in them, or else that they would give no more place to the fruits of infidelity, (I mean man's inventions and carnal interpretations, which the faith in Christ never begat,) than St. Paul gave to Peter his colleague, when he left the table of the Gentiles, and went to the Jews; which fact of Peter, in my judgment, Paul might more conveniently have approved, seeing Peter did it to the intent he would not offend his weak brethren the Jews with his eating, than the true and sincere ministers of Christ in the gospel may wink at many things used in these days among the disciples of the gospel; much less may they approve them with the fashion of their own living, and confirm them with the authority of a council, and with preaching: they say it is not time to speak against them; be it, yet is it time to leave them, and no longer to seem to allow them, unless they intend always to walk in them. Had the author of this book looked after a time, as

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some do, he had not written against purgatory when he did. I fear me, some maintain blindness more with their simulation, than they open the light with their preaching. But this have I spoken, (good Reader,) besides my purpose, which was none other than to admonish thee, that although Rochester, More, and Rastell, have all three, (as thou perceivest by reading this former treatise,) stiffly defended one heresy, yet shouldest thou not have of all three, one judgment or opinion.

Rochester, More, and Rastell, are all three defenders of one heresy.

More and Rochester were men of high dignity in this world, the one a bishop, the other chancellor of this noble realm of England, both ancient in years, of so great wit, and so singular erudition in all kind of learning, esteemed as well of themselves, as of many other, that no two like might in all this land be found: it was thought that for their dignity no man durst, for their years, wit and learning, no man was able to gainsay them; wherefore they were persuaded to be the most meet of all other to take in hand the defence of the terrible pains of purgatory, either the very foundation, or else the chief building set upon the foundation of the church of Rome. Rastell had nothing common in them, but only many years, and a wit sophistical, which he called natural reason. As appertaining to God's word, he acknowledged himself ignorant thereof: notwithstanding he had such opinion of his wit, that he thought he could as well prove purgatory by it, as the other two had done by the Scriptures, wherein I think he was not deceived. And as these three

More and Rochester were men of great authority and learning.

Rastell was but an inferior to Rochester and More.

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persons were not alike, so took they the answer made to them not alike: More and Rochester thought foul scorn (see what the glory of this world, and high estimation of ourselves doth!) that a young man of small reputation should take upon him, so clean contrary to their opinion, to write against them, and (to be short) took the matter so grievously, that they could never be at quiet in their stomachs, until they had drunken his blood. Rastell, though he perceived his natural reason to be sore said to, yet was he not malicious as the other were, and therefore wrote he again, which work of Rastell came to his hands, when he was prisoner in the Tower of London, where he made the answer following to the same; which answer after Rastell had read, he was well content to count his natural reason foolishness, and with hearty thanks given to God, became a child again, and sucked of the wisdom which cometh from above, and saveth all that he nourished therewith; in the which he continued to his life's end, with the honour and glory of God: to whom be praise for ever. Amen.

More and Rochester thought foul scorn of John Frith's answer.

Rastell was not malicious, but gladly recognised his ignorance.

HERE FOLLOWETH THE PREFACE OF THIS BOOK.

BROTHER Rastell, I thank you that it hath pleased you to be so favourable unto me, a poor prisoner, as to show me a copy of your book, which you have written to confute my reasons,

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and Scripture, that I have alleged against purgatory; for that hath caused me to make a subsidy, defence, and bulwark to my book, which by God's grace shall be an occasion to open more light, although not to you, yet at the least wise unto them whose hearts the prince of this world hath not blinded, but that the light of the gospel and glory of Christ may shine in them. And whereas you write and protest that you will bring no Scripture against me, but only rehearse my Scripture again, which I have alleged imperfectly, and wound me with mine own darts, and will but even do as one that playeth at tennis with another, tossing the ball again, I do very well admit your similitude.

2 Cor. iv.

Notwithstanding, you know right well that it is not enough for a man playing at tennis to toss the ball again, but he must so toss it that the other take it not; for if the other smite it over again, then is the game in as great jeopardy as it was before; besides that he must take heed that he neither smite too short of the line, nor yet under, for then it is a loss, and he had been better to let it go. And finally, sometimes a man smiteth over, and thinketh all won; and yet an ungracious post standeth in the way and maketh the ball to rebound back again over the cord, and so loseth the game; and that will anger a man. And I ascertain you, that ye have tossed never a ball, but ye offend in one of these points; and yet besides, that sometimes ye play a touch of legerdemain, and cast me a ball, which, when it

John Frith seemeth that he could play well at tennis.

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cometh, I perceive to be none of mine, and all the court shall judge the same. These points shall be declared when we come to them, and now I will answer in order.

ANSWER TO RASTELL'S PROLOGUE.

Rastell.

IN your prologue, you assigned two causes of the making of your first book of purgatory, without alleging any texts of Scripture for the proof thereof, which are the controversy of two sorts of people. One sort, you say, be those that believe not in Christ, but deny Christ and his Scripture, as be the Turks, Paynims, and such other miscreants. Another sort be they that believe in Christ and his Scripture, nor will deny no text of holy Scripture, but yet they will construe, expound, and interpret these texts after their own wills and obstinate minds, &c.

Rastell alleged two causes why he made his first book in the defence of purgatory.

Now let us consider your foresaid causes, and ponder whether your book have or may do any such good as you say pretended, and whether it have converted those sorts of people, or else be any thing likely to do such a fact. And first, let us see what it profiteth the first sort, which are infidels, not believing in Christ nor his Scripture. Our Saviour Christ saith, He that believeth is not damned; and John Baptist confirmeth same, saying, He that believeth in the Son hath everlasting life, but he that believeth not in the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him. Here it is evident, not by my exposition, but by the consent of all Christian men, that those infidels are

John iii.

John Frith answereth to Rastell's two causes.

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damned; for what intent then should Rastell teach them that there is a purgatory? Without Christ there is no way but damnation, as Scripture and all faithful men testify. Then would I know by what way he would persuade that there were a purgatory (which should be a way and a means to salvation, and not to damnation) for they which believe not in Christ. This I am sure of, (and I think Rastell believeth it also,) that the infidels shall never come in it, though there were one. This you may see, that his first cause is very vain, and that if they did believe it, they were indeed deceived.

Rastell's first cause proved to be in vain.

Now let us proceed unto the second sort of people, which believe in Christ and his Scripture, and yet misconstrue it, expounding it after their own wills; and let us see what fruit they take of this book, and what it profiteth them, and we shall find that it less serveth these men than the first; for if these men believe in Christ and in his Scripture, then is it not possible that they should receive or admit that thing which is against the Scripture, both by the exposition of themselves and of all the world; for this is both against Scripture and all faithful men, that there should be any way to health, if we exclude Christ and his Scripture. And since purgatory is counted a way to health, he that would go about to prove it (secluding Christ and Scripture) is against Scripture and all faithful men.

Besides that, if they be so obstinate that they will not receive the very Scripture, but expound it after their own wills, and wrest it after the same, then will they much less receive your book which is so plain against Scripture; and therefore, if you would think that they could be tamed by your book, which, notwithstanding, so wresteth Scripture, then may I very well liken you to him that hath a wild horse to tame, which, when he perceiveth that he cannot hold him with a Scottish snaffle, will yet labour to break him with a rotten twine thread; so that I can espy no manner of profit

An apt and good example.

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that can come of your book, if you can allege no better causes than you yet show, but that it had been a great deal better unwritten.

And, brother Rastell, where you say that I advance and boast myself much more than becometh me, and that I detract and slander my neighbours, and that I provoke all men that read my book rather to vice than to virtue, with such other things as ye lay to my charge, I trust I shall declare my inconvenience, and give you a sufficient answer. Frith answereth gently Rastell's bitter taunts.

AN ANSWER UNTO RASTELL'S FIRST CHAPTER,

WHICH REPROVETH ME FOR BOASTING MYSELF.

IN the first chapter of this book, Rastell laboureth to prove that I am sore overseen in lauding and boasting myself, and that I like myself so well that he is sure that other men do like me the less, and that he feareth that God will therefore like me and favour me rather the worse than the better. Rastell.

Here he juggleth with me, and would make me believe that he tossed me mine own ball again; but when I behold it, I perceive it to be none of mine; for he hath cut out all that should make for me, so that he hath given it clean another shape than ever I intended that it should have, as it appeareth by his writing which rehearseth my words in this manner: Frith. Frith meeteth here with a false ball.

I am sure, there are many that marvel, that I being so young, dare attempt to dispute this matter against these three persons.—But my words are these: I am sure that there are many that will much marvel, that I, Rastell. Frith.

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being so young, and of so small learning, dare dispute this matter, &c.

Here Rastell leaveth out the words, "and of so small learning," for if he had put that in, he had betrayed himself; for I think no man so mad as to say, that he which sayeth himself to be both young and of small learning, should praise and boast himself.

Note here the modesty of John Frith.

Also, immediately after the words of his first allegation, I say on this manner: And as touching my learning, I must needs acknowledge (as the truth is,) that it is very small,—which I think is but a base boasting. And anon after I say: I would not that any man should admit my words or learning, except they will stand with the Scripture, and be approved thereby. Lay them to the touchstone, and try them with God's word; if they be found false and contrary, then damn them, and I also shall revoke them with all mine heart, &c.

Finally, I exhorted them to read my book, not advertising who speaketh the words, but rather what is spoken; by which words you might well see, that I intended not to boast myself: and all this have I written, and he left it out, even in the first page, (as he calleth it,) wherein he reporteth that I boast myself.

Rastell.

Notwithstanding, one thing doth sore vex him, that I should recite the Epistle of St. Paul, whereby, he saith, I would have men believe that I had the Spirit of God, and think, that though I be young, that I see visions and espy the truth, and that mine elders have dreamed dreams and wandered in phantasies.

Frith.

No man ought to condemn that which he hath not seen.

This he recounteth to be a great boast, and that this one place should win him the field. Whereunto I answer that indeed my words do not prove that thing which you seem so surely to gather of them; but my words do argue on this manner, That no man ought to condemn a thing before he read it, and then to give sentence. And because you seem ignorant in the matter, I shall

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declare it unto you, and how it standeth: it is a colour of rhetoric, and is called *Avantopodosis*, that is to say, an answer to an objection that a man might have here made, on this manner: Thou grantest thyself young, and of so small learning; dost thou then think that we shall once read or regard thy book, especially since it is written against ancient men both of great wit and dignity? To these two points I answer, preventing their objection, that they should not despise it because of my youth; for as the Spirit of God is bound to no place, even so is he not addict to any age or person, but inspireth where he will, and when he will; and bring in for an example, that he inspired young Timothy; proving thereby, that the youth of itself is not to be despised, but according to the learning which it bringeth, and that, therefore, they may not despise my youth, but first read what doctrine I bring, and thereafter to judge it. No more. In this I prove not that I am inspired, and have the Spirit of God as Timothy had, but only prove that God may inspire youth, as he did Timothy, and that, therefore, ye ought first to read before you condemn; for you know not who is inspired, and who not, until you have read their works, or seen their facts. Thus you may see, that my words define not that all youth is inspired, although some may be; but I exhort that no man despise prophecies, but prove all, and approve that is good. And to make the matter more plain, I shall bring you an example out of Paul to the Hebrews, which exhorteth them to hospitality, for by that some men unawares have received angels to harbour; be not therefore unmindful of it. Here Paul exhorteth you to hospitality; and showing you that by those means some men have received angels into their house; he would not have you think that all the guests that you shall receive shall be angels, but some shall be lewd losels. And likewise, I, in exhorting you to read my book, and not despising my youth, because that some-

God inspireth youth as well as age.

Thes. i.

Heb. xiii.

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times God inspireth the young, would not have you think that the books made of young men (which ye shall receive,) shall be wholesome doctrine, but some men be lewd and unfruitful: nevertheless, even as if they received not those guests, they should also put away angels if any came; so if you despise to read such books as be written by young men, you may also fortune to despise them which are written by the inspiration of Christ's Spirit, and therefore ye ought to read.

Frith speaketh to cavillers.

But be it in case I had indeed praised myself, (as I have not,) and that I had said that I had the Spirit of God, what inconvenience should follow thereof? Would you thereof argue that my doctrine were false? If that were a good argument, then were Christ's doctrine false, then were Paul a false prophet, and our faith nothing; for Christ said to the Jews that he was the Light of the world. And again he said, It is my Father that glorified me, whom ye call your God. Now if it had been a sufficient argument to condemn his doctrine, because the world calleth it boasting, then should we have believed no truth at all. Besides that Paul seemeth not a little to boast himself, if men look on it with a carnal eye, for he saith, that he thinketh not himself inferior unto the highest apostles: and saith again, that if they glory to be the ministers of Christ, (though he speak unwisely,) he is more copious in labours, in stripes above measure, in prison more often, often at the point of death, &c.

John viii.

A man may use godly and modest boasting.

2 Cor. xi.

Should we for these words think that his doctrine were not right? Nay, verily, that doth not improve the doctrine, but that it may be good and wholesome, for a man may boast himself and do well, so he refer the praise to God, from whom all goodness cometh. But be it in case that I should say that God of his mere mercy, and for the love that he oweth me in Christ and his blood, had given me his Spirit, that I might be to his

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laud and praise, to whom be thanks for ever: Amen. Would you think that this were so great a boasting that the doctrine should be impaired thereby? Ah, blind guides! I pray God give you the light of understanding. I beseech you, brother Rastell, be not discontent with me if I ask you one question: Be ye a Christian man, or no? I am sure you will answer, Yes. Then, if I brought you the text of Paul, which saith, He that hath not the Spirit of God is none of his; I pray you, how will you avoid it? Notwithstanding, if you would avoid the text; yet will I lay another block in the way, that you shall not be able to remove, and that is the saying of Paul: (2 Cor. xiii.) Know ye not yourselves that Christ is in you, except ye be reprobate persons? Now, howsoever you would judge of yourselves, I think, verily, that I am no such; and therefore, whereas before I did not so write, now I certify you that I am Christ's; conclude what ye will; and the day shall come that you shall surely know that so it is, albeit in mean season I be reputed a laughing-stock in this world; for I know in whom I trust, and he cannot deceive me.

This is a thankful and godly boasting.

Rom. viii.

2 Cor. xiii.

Frith, the faithful servant and true martyr of Christ.

Then bringeth he against me, that I say we have been long secluded from the Scripture, and also that our forefathers have not had the light of God's word opened unto them.

Rastell.

I marvel what Rastell meaneth, by bringing this for his purpose, for I think it no boasting of myself; but if ye think that it be untrue, I think he is very blind. For what Scripture hath the poor commons been admitted unto even till this day? It hath been hid and locked up in a strange tongue, and from them that have attained the knowledge of that tongue, hath it been locked with a thousand false glosses of Antichrist's making, and innumerable laws. And where I say our forefathers have not had the light of God's word opened unto them, I mean that they have not the Scripture in

Frith.

Rastell showeth himself to be very ignorant.

Frith showeth his meaning how the Scripture was kept from our forefathers.

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their own mother tongue, that they might have conferred these juggling mists with the light of God's word, as the process of my words can testify, which he hath wholly left out; but I beseech the Christian reader once to read the place for my discharge and his confusion; ye shall find it in the second leaf of my book.

Rastell. And now he allegeth against me, that I should say this: Judge, Christian reader, what reasons Rastell hath brought, and how he hath solved them; for in my mind both his reasons and solutions are so childish and unsavory, so unlearned and barren, so full of faults and phantasies, that I rather pity the man's deep ignorance and blindness, which hath so deceived himself through philosophy and natural reason, than I fear that he, by his vain probations, should allure any man to consent unto him.

Frith. I think Rastell layeth not this against me, because I boast myself in these words. And verily, as touching the truth of those words, I will add thus much more unto them: that I never wist man that was counted wise which hath brought so slender reasons, except he intended to destroy a thing which ye seem to have built.

Rastell. And finally, whereas I exhort all men to judge and confer the Scriptures which Sir Thomas More and my Lord of Rochester allege for their opinions, and would

Rastell cavilleth. have them to ponder their reasons and my solutions unto them, annexing these words, I am sure that my small learning hath condemned their high eloquence, that my folly hath brought to nought their wisdom, and that my youth hath disclosed their festered ignorance:

Frith. There Rastell thinketh that I stand well in my own conceit, and boast myself above the moon, because I touch M. More his kinsman: But let Rastell take this for an answer: if M. More would keep him within his own bounds, that is, with meddling of worldly matters

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only, I would never compare with him; yet he must remember that a dauber may correct him in his own craft: but it is even as Socrates saith, when a man is wise in one thing, then will he take upon him to define all things, and be ignorant in nothing, and so disdaineth the gift that he hath, and proveth himself unwise.

More would not be ignorant in any thing, and therefore understood nothing as he should have understood, neither his duty to the prince, nor yet to God.

Furthermore, I see no great praise that I here attribute unto myself; but confess my small learning, my folly, and my youth; nevertheless, if he recount it a praise, because I say it hath condemned their high eloquence and their wisdom, and disclosed their ignorance, then let him also annex the words that I wrote, saying: And it is even the old practice of God, to choose the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; to choose the weak, to confound the mighty; and to choose the vile things, which are of no reputation, to confound them of high degree, that no flesh might boast itself in his sight, to whom only be praise and thanks for ever. Amen.

A good conclusion made by John Frith against Rastell's first chapter.

Where all men may see that I refer all praise to him which only is worthy; and so I may conclude, that you have not looked indifferently on my book.

AN ANSWER UNTO RASTELL'S SECOND CHAPTER,

WHICH IMPROVETH ME FOR RAILING AND DISPRAISING OTHERS.

IN the second chapter, he rangeth the field, and searcheth out, with all diligence, what word I have spoken that might be taken in the worst sense, and calleth them railing, jesting, and scolding words; and because he would have me to be abhorred of the reader, he

Rastell.

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allegeth not only these words that are spoken against himself, but also that are spoken against my Lord of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More; not that he intendeth to answer for them, or to defend their parts, ye may be sure, but only to leave nothing behind which should seem to make for him; like a noble orator. The words that he reproveth are these:

Rastell. There Rastell taketh his foundation upon a stark lie; and there he maketh two lies; and there he maketh three lies.

Frith. Here I would desire my brother Rastell to pardon me of a little ignorance, for surely I thought it had been no more offence to call a lie a lie, than to call a sheep a sheep; notwithstanding, since he recounteth it to be railing, jesting, and scolding, I will hereafter temper myself and change my words, and will say that when he lieth, that (by his leave) he maketh a fitten.

Rastell. It angereth him when I say, that Rastell hath lost his wit in purgatory; and therefore I will say so no more.

Frith. But this I will affirm, (be Rastell ever so furious,) that whosoever maketh such reasons and solutions, and counteth them good in earnest, that he hath no wit in his head, wheresoever he lost it; but if you would read Rastell's first argument, which I have set in my book in the twelfth leaf, then you shall perceive whether I say the truth, or not.

Rastell. Also he allegeth that I should say, that saying of Rastell is against Scripture; but if ye count that railing, and would not have me say so much unto him, I

Frith. will count the man somewhat stately; and this I insure him, that if God suffer me to live, I will say so again, take it as he will.

Rastell. Also he reciteth, as a great reproach, that I should say, I marvel how our schoolmen may abide this fellow.

Frith. And surely, the same I say again; for he proveth both St. Thomas, and them also, fools and double fools, which, if I should so do, would be counted heinous heresy.

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Then he rehearseth what I say of M. More and my Lord of Rochester, and all to help his matter, that when I say, the small probations and slender reasons that those two witted men, Sir Thomas More and my Lord of Rochester, had brought to confirm purgatory, made my heart to yearn. Rastell.

What railing or jesting this is, let other men judge; but this I dare avow, that I said the truth; for what should a man do or say, to see them so contrary in their tales? M. More saith, that there is fire and no water in purgatory; and my Lord of Rochester saith, that there is both fire and water. M. More saith, that the ministers of punishment are devils; and my Lord of Rochester saith, that the ministers of punishment are angels. M. More saith, that both the grace and charity of them that lie in the pains of purgatory are increased; my Lord of Rochester saith, the souls of purgatory obtain there neither more faith, nor grace, nor charity, than they brought in with them. Now judge, good reader, whether I have railed or said the truth; but all this doth Rastell leave out full craftily: he reciteth full diligently both the head and tail, but the middle, which expoundeth the matter, will he not let you see. Frith. Rochester contrary to More, and More contrary to Rochester.

He allegeth also against me, that I say M. More is sore deceived, and set on the sand even at the first brunt, and in the beginning of his voyage, and that I would wish M. More a little more wit. Rastell.

Even that I say again, and affirm it to be true, and is so evidently proved in the beginning of mine answer against M. More, that I need to say nothing, but only refer the reader unto the place. Frith.

Also he improveth me for saying in another place, that M. More showeth him in one text twice ignorant, and that he is too busy, for he understandeth not the phrase of Scripture. Rastell.

This, and such other sayings he allegeth (which I pass over); for I count it folly to spend paper and Frith.

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labour about the rehearsing of them; for if you read my book, you shall see all these points so plainly proved, that he might be ashamed to make mention of them.

Rastell. This he counteth jesting, slandering, and railing, saying that no reasonable man will think these points to be things belonging to virtue, but rather spices and branches of pride, and that I show not myself therein charitable, but rather malicious, nor no wisdom therein, but rather folly; adding, that if I had been half a year at two schools, that is to say, the school of discretion and the school of charity, I should more have prospered in virtuous learning than I have done in other schools this seven years; and saith that I have been at the schools of slandering, railing, and jesting.

Rastell is a bitter taunter.

Frith. Dear brother, if it had been so that I had spoken certain words indeed, which might have seemed in your eyes to be railing, detracting, and slandering, (as I have not, saving a little jesting) would you disprove my doctrine thereby? What will you then say to St. John Baptist, which calleth the pharisees (then heads of the church, as are now our doctors) generation of vipers? Would you therefore conclude that his doctrines were naught? I think you be not so childish. And it seemeth this one sentence to be more railing and slandering, than all that I have written.

Matt. iii.

The reproving of the Papistical hypocrites must not be called railing. What will you say to Christ, which called the scribes and pharisees, hypocrites. (Matt. xv. xvi. xxii.) And in the xiiith he seemeth to rail above measure, where he calleth them hypocrites and blind guides, painted sepulchres, which outwardly appear righteous, but within are full of hypocrisy, serpents, and generation of vipers. Besides that he calleth Herod Fox, (Luke xiii.) and the Jews he called a froward and advoutrous generation, (Matt. xii. xvi.;) and in the xviith, he saith, O unfaithful and overthwart nation! Would you think it should excuse the Jews which refused his doc-

Luke xiii.

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trine, to say that he railed, and that no reasonable man would think those things to be points belonging to virtue, but rather spices and branches of pride, and that he showed not himself charitable, but malicious, nor no wisdom therein, but folly? Would it excuse them to say (as you do to me) that if he had been one half year at [the] school of discretion and charity, he should more have prospered in virtuous learning, and that he had been at the schools of slandering, railing, and jesting?

Finally, St. Paul, in your eyes, might appear to rail and slander, and to be clean destitute of God's Spirit, which, as Luke saith, replenished with the Holy Ghost, said to Elymas that resisteth him: (Acts xiii.) O thou, full of all subtlety and deceit, thou son of the devil and enemy of all righteousness, ceaseth not to pervert the right ways of the Lord. I can bring many more such sayings of Peter, John, James, and Judas, and yet I think you will not improve their doctrine thereby; but because I study to be short, I shall count it sufficient to have warned the reader of this. Notwithstanding, peradventure, Rastell will not yet be answered, but will say, that albeit I have touched enough as concerning those things that appear railing and slandering in his eyes, yet I brought none that jest as I do: whereunto I may answer and allege for me, Elias the prophet, which both mocked the false priests, and jested with them, saying, Call loud unto your gods, for peradventure they are asleep and cannot hear, or else they be gone out of town. I cannot enough marvel that my brother Rastell would use such manner of reasoning with me, as to improve my doctrine because of my railing and jesting.

Luke xiii.

The prophets and apostles were great reprovers of the ungodly and wicked.

For therewith he hath made a foul hole in his kinsman's best coat; for every man perceiveth that M. More's books are so full of railing, jesting, and bawdy tales, that if the furious Momus and Venus had taken

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out their parts, there should be very little left for Vulcanus.

Rastell. After this Rastell dissenteth to the purpose of his matter, and would prove that my expositions of Scripture are not good, because they are an occasion to bring the people to boldness of sin, and to move the people to delight in other men's faults, and to laugh thereat. And to put you an example; he saith, if I should take upon me the exposition of this text: *In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud Deum, &c.* and expound it after this manner:

As it is a fond exposition, so it is false metre.

In the beginning of this year,
John Frith is a noble clerk,
He killed a millstone with his spear;
Keep well your geese, your dogs do bark.

I trow, saith Rastell, all wise men would think that this were a fond exposition; and yet this exposition would please children, fools, and madmen, as well as the exposition of St. Austin or St. Hierome, or any other doctor of the church, because it would make them to laugh. So (saith Rastell) Frith maketh such expositions with jesting and railing to make the people laugh, not regarding to edify the people, nor to provoke them to virtue, meekness, or charity, nor to leave their sin, but rather giveth them boldness, and to believe that there is no purgatory nor hell, but mocketh and jesteth at those reasons that be made for proof of purgatory.

A sore and fond saying of Rastell.

Frith. Now as touching the first part, where he saith that my expositions be an occasion to bring the people to boldness of sin, I ask him, Why? His answer is, Because I give them boldness that there is no purgatory, nor yet hell. There, too, Rastell, by his leave, maketh a fitten, (I dare not say he maketh a lie, for that he would call railing;) for I never denied hell, but affirm in many

Frith is a good scholar and soon hath learned his lesson: he will say no more they lie, for that is bitter.

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places of my book, and even in the first side of mine answer against him, I affirm hell and perpetual damnation. But when ye come to the proof of his words, then you shall see how wisely the man concludeth; for he thinketh that *Ab inferiori ad suis superius confuse distribue*, men shall think it a good consequent, as if I should say that we lack fire in prison, then would he conclude that there lacked fire in all Middlesex. Or if I would say there were no wit in Rastell's head, then would he conclude that there were no wit in no man's head. But he hath so long studied philosophy, that he hath clean forgotten his principles of sophistry; notwithstanding, we will forgive him this fault, for the man is somewhat aged, and therefore I think it is long since he read them, and that they are now out of his memory. Nevertheless he will say that his argument is not solved, for although I deny not hell, yet I deny purgatory, and so I give the people an occasion to sin, because they fear not purgatory: whereunto I have so sufficiently answered in Rastell's seventh argument, that I wonder that he is not ashamed to bring the same again; but he trusteth that my books shall never be read, and his may go surely abroad, and therefore he may say what he will, only he careth not what he saith, so he hold not his peace.

And where he reporteth that I make expositions to make the people to delight to hear of other men's faults, and to laugh thereat, thereto will I say Nay, till he be at leisure to prove it. And where he saith, If he should take upon him to expound, *In principio erat verbum*, in this manner: Rastell. Frith.

In the beginning of this year, Rastell.
John Frith is a noble clerk,
He killed a millstone with his spear;
Keep well your geese, the dogs do bark.

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Saying, that all wise men would say that this were a fond exposition:

Frith. Thereto I answer, that, saving for the rhyme and metre, they might well say that a goose had made it, for any reason that is therein; and yet as touching the metre, the second verse lacketh a foot, and is shorter than his fellows, but if you put out this word Frith, and put in this word Rastell for it, then shall his metre also be perfect, and that halting verse shall run merrily with his fellows upon his right feet, on this manner:

A goose would have made better rhyme and metre than Rastell did.

In the beginning of this year,
John Rastell is a noble clerk,
He killed a millstone with his spear;
Keep well your geese, the dogs do bark.

Frith taketh pains to amend Rastell's metre, but not his reason. Thus I have amended his metre; but as for the reason, I leave it to himself to amend it at his leisure. In the end of his second chapter, he saith, that I intend, with my expositions, to bring the people to believe in four other great errors, whereof the first is, that there is no hell ordained for any that is of Christ's faith, although he do never so many sins; but let us see how he proveth it.

AN ANSWER UNTO RASTELL'S THIRD CHAPTER,

WHICH WOULD PROVE THAT I DENY HELL.

Rastell. IT seemeth, (saith Rastell,) by the reasons that Frith hath alleged, that his intent is to bring the people in belief that there is no hell; for I allege, in my answer unto Rastell's dialogue, the saying of St. Paul, (Eph. i.)

Ephes. i.

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Christ chose us in him before the beginning of the world, that we might be holy and without spot in his sight; and again, (Ephes. v.) Christ loved his congregation, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it in the fountain of water through the word to make it without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blame.

Frith's answer unto Rastell's third chapter.

And upon these texts I conclude, that if Christ have so purged us that we are without spot, wrinkle, or blame in his sight, (as Paul testifieth,) then will he never cast us into purgatory. For what should be purged in them, that are without spot, wrinkle, or blame? And then somewhat to declare the matter how we be sinners as long as we live, and yet without sin in the sight of God, add these words, which I would that all men did well note; and because Rastell leaveth out the best of the matter, I will rehearse my own words again.

Frith.

Peradventure every man perceiveth not what this meaneth, that we are righteous in his sight, seeing that every man is a sinner, (1 John ii.); therefore I will briefly declare the meaning of the apostle. This is first a clear case, that there liveth no man upon the earth without sin, notwithstanding all they that were chosen in Christ before the foundations of the world were laid, are without spot of sin in the sight of God; (Ephes. i.) so that they are both sinners and righteous. If we consider the imperfection of our faith and charity, if we consider the conflict of the flesh and the spirit, (Gal. v.) if we consider our rebellious members which are under sin, (Rom. vii.) then are we grievous sinners; and, contrarywise, if we believe, that of that merciful favour God gave his most dear Son to redeem us from our sin, if we believe that he imputeth not our sins unto us, but that his wrath is pacified in Christ and his blood, if we believe that he hath freely given us his Christ, and with him all things, so that we be destitute of no gift, (Rom. viii.) then are we righteous in his sight, and our

How we are righteous in the sight of God, and yet are sinners.

Rom. viii.

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conscience at peace with God, not through ourselves, but through our Lord Jesus Christ. (Rom. v.) So mayest thou perceive that thou art a sinner in thyself, and yet art thou righteous in Christ, for through him is not thy sin imputed nor reckoned unto thee; and so are they to whom God imputeth not their sins, blessed righteous without spot, wrinkle, or blame. (Rom. iv. Psalm xxxi.) And therefore will he never thrust them into purgatory. And for proof of this I allege, (as Rastell beareth me witness,) divers texts of St. Paul, (Ephes. ii. Rom. iv. v. vii. viii.); but that notwithstanding Rastell saith that I have not recited them sufficiently, for I have left out somewhat which I have rehearsed for the opening of the truth, and then bringeth in, that St. Paul exhorteth and biddeth us we shall use no fornication, uncleanness, avarice, filth, or foolish speeches, for such shall have no inheritance in the kingdom of heaven. And even so say I too. But judge, good reader, what is this to the purpose? for it neither maketh for purgatory, neither against it. This text I could have alleged, if I had endeavoured myself that we should do good works (which I never knew Christian man deny); but else, as touching my matter, it is nothing to the purpose, and as well he might have improved me, because I bring in no text to prove that the Father of heaven is God, or to prove that which man never doubted of.

Rom. v.

We are sinners in ourselves, and yet righteous in Christ.

Rom. iv.

Ps. xxxi.

Rastell.

Frith.

Rastell.

Then he allegeth Paul, (Rom. v. vi.) saying, though grace do reign through Christ, shall we therefore dwell in sin? nay, God forbid, saith Paul; and even so say I. Again, he allegeth, (Rom. viii.) that there is no damnation to them which be in Christ Jesus, if they live not after the flesh; and even so say I; but Rastell will say the contrary anon.

Rastell setteth a trap wherein he will be taken himself.

Besides that, he allegeth, (Rom. iii.) we be freely justified by grace, by Christ's redemption, to show his justice for the remission of sin done before; (and yet saith Rastell,) Paul saith, that the law is not destroyed by

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faith, but made stable, but this hath Frith left out of his book to cause the people to believe that they be clean purged by the blood of Christ only, and that there need no purgatory.

Frith.

By these words you may evidently perceive what Rastell meaneth by this alleging of Paul for the establishing of the law, verily, that the work of the law should justify and clean purge you from sin: which is contrary to Paul and all Scripture, for even in this same chapter that he allegeth, Paul saith, that of works of the law no flesh shall be justified in his sight, and saith, that the righteousness of God cometh by faith of Jesus Christ unto all, and upon all that believe. But as touching good works, I will touch more hereafter.

The works of the law cannot justify us.

Rastell.

Furthermore, Rastell saith, that if my arguments could prove that there is no purgatory, it must follow as well that there is no hell for us that be Christian men, though we continue still in sin; for we be blessed without spot, or wrinkle, or blame, and that therefore he will not cast us into purgatory, then he will not cast us into hell whatsoever sin we do commit.

Rastell's blind argument.

Frith.

Here Rastell uttereth his blindness unto you, and showeth you what understanding he hath in Scripture; first, he armeth himself with a false supposition, and yet thereupon he concludeth his argument falsely. His supposition is this, that all men which are baptised with material water are very Christian men, and have the true faith, and be those which Paul affirmeth to be without spot, blame, or wrinkle. But thereto I say Nay, for even as the outward circumcision made not the Jews the elect people and children of salvation, so doth not the outward baptism make us the faithful members of Christ; but as they were the children of God, which were inwardly circumcised, even so they that are washed inwardly from the concupiscence of this world, are the members of Christ, whom Paul affirmeth so to be purged through his blood. Again, you may know that Rastell

Note well this worthy and learned argument.

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knoweth none other faith but that which may stand with all manner of sin; but the faith which we speak of, is the same which worketh through charity, whereof Paul speaketh. (Gal. v.) They that have this faith, are born of God and sin not; these that have this faith do hope and look daily for deliverance out of this thraldom and body of sin; and in the mean season they purify themselves as he is pure. For if a man will say that he knoweth Christ, or believeth in him, and keepeth not his commandments, he is a liar, and we renounce him to be any of this number that we speak of. And when Rastell saith I would conclude there is no hell for them that be Christian men, though they continue still in sin, I answer, He that committeth sin is of the devil; and I say again, that the Christian [men] that we spake of, which are the children of God, cannot continue still in sin, but seek all means to fulfil God's commandments. Notwithstanding, the Christian [men] which Rastell speaketh of, which are the children of the devil, may do as they list; and indeed they had need to make a friend of Rastell to help them into his purgatory, if it be any better than hell; for they shall never come into heaven, except they repent and walk innocently in this world, as Christ and his little flock have ever done; for they that walk otherwise are none of his, though they wear mitres.

Gal. v.
1 John iii.
1 John iii.
1 John ii.
Frith.
Such Christian people as are the children of God, will not dwell nor abide in sin, and so for them there is no hell.
Luke xii.

This little flock it is that are so purged, (and not Rastell's multitude,) and for this is there neither hell nor purgatory ordained, even as for this heap that continueth still in sin is ordained no heaven. And that there is no hell ordained for these faithful followers of Christ, I will prove even by this word of Paul, which Rastell rehearsed before, (Rom. viii.) that there is no damnation to them that be in Christ Jesus, if they live not after the flesh. Here Rastell hath smitten the ball quite under the cord, and hath alleged that, that shall condemn him; for if there be no damnation—But because you are somewhat slow in perceiving the matter, I shall

The smaller number belong to Christ, and not the greater.
Rom. viii.
Here Rastell is taken in his own trap.

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reduce it into a *syllogismus* on this manner: There is no damnation unto them that be in Christ Jesus, if they live not after the flesh, but after the spirit. Every hell is damnation, *ergo*, there is no hell to them that be in Christ Jesus if they live not after the flesh, but after the spirit. This is in the first figure made by *celarent*:—not by any profit that I think that the poor commons can take by such babbling, but only to satisfy your mind and pleasure. Notwithstanding, one thing I must put you in remembrance, that you have falsely translated the text; for the text hath not that conditional, although I was contented to take it at your hands to see what you could prove; but the text saith thus, There is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, which walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit; where Paul doth certify you, that they which are in Christ Jesus, walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit. So that you may gather by Paul, that if they walk not after the spirit, they are not in Christ Jesus; that is to say, they are none of Christ's, although Rastell will call them Christian men: therefore, dear brethren, look that no man deceive himself, for Christ is not the minister of sins. If we be delivered from sin through Christ, then must we walk in a new conversation of our life, or else we are still in darkness. Remember that we have this precious treasure in frail, brittle, and earthly vessels; let us therefore with fear and trembling, work our health, and make stable our vocation and election: for if we retain the truth and knowledge of God in sin and unrighteousness, we shall shortly perceive the wrath of God upon us with infinite delusions, and the end of us shall be worse than the beginning; awake, therefore, and understand your health.

Major.

Minor.

Rastell falsifieth the Scripture.

1 Cor. viii.

Gal. ii.

Rom. vi.

1 John ii.

Phil. ii.

Peter i.

Rom. i.

Now you may see how he concludeth that I establish this error, that there is no hell; for seeing mine arguments, and Paul, (Rom. viii.) do conclude that there is no hell nor damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus

There is no hell to those that are in Christ Jesus.

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and are his faithful followers, he thinketh it should well follow, that if there be no hell for them, that there is no hell for no man; for in his second chapter, and also in the beginning of the third, he saith, that I deny hell; and when we come to his probation, there is nothing said but that which Paul confirmeth, that is, There is no damnation for them that are in Christ Jesus, which walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit, which are through Christ without spot, wrinkle, or blame. And so, though Rastell appear to himself to conclude like a sage philosopher, yet I answer you, he concludeth like an ignorant sophister, as all men may see; for it followeth not Paul and Frith say there is no hell, as contrariwise it followeth there is no heaven for Rastell's Christian men which continue still in sin: *ergo*, there is no heaven for the devil their father, and yet is there heaven for Christ and his elect. I have before declared how Christ's elect are sinners and no sinners. And now, because you should not mistake the texts of St. John, which I before alleged, I will show you how they do commit sin: which I did also sufficiently touch in my answer against Rastell's dialogue, even two leaves from the end, and yet I will touch it again, because you shall not think that I would lead you in ignorance and darkness.

There is a hell for such as fear not God, nor obey his commandments

As there is no heaven for good and evil, so there is no hell for good and evil.

There are two parts in a faithful man, which rebel each against other, and are at continual strife, and both of them have divers names in Scripture: the one is called the inward man, the heart, the mind, the will, and the spirit; the other is called the outward man, the rebellious members, the body of sin, and the flesh: and these in a faithful man keep continual war; and albeit the one be subdued and taken prisoner of the other, yet never consenteth to his enemy; he cannot leave him, neither will make peace with him, but will labour what he can, and will call for all that he thinketh will help him to be delivered from his enemy, and then warreth upon him afresh. What time the faithful man is brought

There are two parts in man, that is, the outward man and the inward man.

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to the knowledge of God, and believeth in Christ, and hath his will and mind renewed with the Spirit of God, that consenteth to the law of God, that is good, righteous, and holy; and beginneth to love the law, and hath a will and a desire to fulfil the law of God, and not to despise his heavenly Father. And look how much he loveth the law, counting it righteous and holy; even so much doth he hate sin which the law forbiddeth, and abhorreth it in his heart and inward man. And then albeit the outward man and rebellious members do at times besiege him, and take him captive under sin, yet doth not the inward man consent that this sin is good, and the law naught which forbiddeth it, neither doth the heart delight in this same sin, neither can it delight in such sin, because the Spirit of God testifieth unto him that it is abominable in the sight of God: and then fighteth the inward man against the outward with faith, prayer, almsdeeds, and fasting, and laboureth to subdue the members, lamenting that he hath been overcome, because he feareth to displease God his Father, and desireth him, for the blood of his son Christ, that he will forgive that which is past; and his diligence that he taketh in taming his members is not recompense towards God for the sin that is past; but to subdue the flesh that he sin no more. This rebellion had Paul, (Rom. vii.) saying, that he did not that good thing which he would, but the evil which he hated, that he did; that is, he did not fulfil the good law of God, as his heart, will, and inward man desired, but did the evil as touching his flesh and outward man, which he hated, and so he sinned with his outward man. Then how is this true, that he that committeth sin is of the devil, and he that is of God committeth no sin? was not Paul of God? Yes, verily; and albeit he committeth sin with his members and outward man, yet he sinned not; for he saith, "If I do that thing that I hate, then is it not I that do it, but the sin that dwelleth in me; and even

How the inward man resisteth the assaults of the outward man.

The faithful man feareth God's displeasure.

Rom. viii.

How a man may commit sin, and yet sin not.

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likewise the faithful followers of Christ commit no sin, for they hate it, and if they fortune to be entangled with sin, it is not they that do it (as Paul saith) but the sin that dwelleth in them, which God hath left to exercise them, as he left the Philistines to exercise and nurture the children of Israel; and if the remnants of sin fortune at any time to look aloft and begin to reign, then he sendeth some cross of adversity or sickness to help to suppress them. And thus shall it be as long as we live; but when we be once dead, then our members rebel no more, and then needeth neither purgatory nor any other cross, for the outward man is turned into vanity, and our inward man was ever pure, through believing the word of God, and never consented to sin; and needeth no other purgatory in this world, nor in the world to come, but only for subduing the outward man, and therefore after this life he shall never have any purgatory. Mark well what I say, and read it again, for more shall read it than shall understand it; but he that hath ears let him hear.

Sin remaineth in our outward members, to exercise the inward man in resisting of sin.

John xv.

THE second error that Rastell layeth to my charge is, that I would bring the people in belief that repentance of a man helpeth not for the remission of his sin.

Rastell. In proving this second error against me, Rastell taketh so great pains, that he is almost beside himself.

Frith. For he saith, that I would make men believe that it forceth not, whether they sin or no. Why so, brother Rastell? Verily, because I allege St. John, St. Paul, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah, to quench the hot fire of purgatory, and allege no authorities to prove good works. Whereunto I answer (as I did before) that it is nothing to my purpose; for the proving of good works doth neither make for purgatory nor against it. I could have alleged all those texts, if I had intended myself to prove that I should do good works (which I never knew Christian man deny); but as touching my matter, it is nothing to the purpose: and as well he might have im-

Rastell would fain cavil, but he cannot tell at what.

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proved me, because I bring in no texts to prove that the Father of Heaven is God, or to prove that which never man doubted of. Notwithstanding, if Rastell had indifferent eyes, I spake sufficiently of good works in the thirty-fourth argument against his dialogue: let all men read the place and judge.

Rastell taketh the matter very grievously that I attempt to allege how St. John and St. Paul send us to Christ, and then add that we know no other to take away sin but only Christ; and because I add this word only, therefore he thinketh that I clean destroy repentance. Whereunto I answer, that I added not this word only for nought, but I did it by the authority of St. John, which saith, If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship with each other, and the blood of Jesus Christ his son purifieth us from all sin: whereupon I say that for us which are in the light, his blood only is sufficient; but for your Christian men which continue still in sin, and walk in darkness after their father the devil, must some other means be found, or else they shall never enter into the kingdom of heaven

Rastell.

Frith.

There is no means to put away sin, but only by Christ.

For such as dwell in the light of Christ, his blood only is sufficient.

But because I will be short, let Rastell note that I find two manner of repentance: one is without faith, and is such a repentance as Judas and Rastell's Christian men which continue still in sin, have at the latter end, which doth rather purchase them a halter than the remission of sins.

There are two manner of repentances.

Another repentance followeth justification and remission of sins, and is a flourishing fruit of faith; for when by faith we do perceive the favour and kindness that our loving Father hath showed us in his son Christ Jesus, and that he hath reconciled us unto himself by the blood of his Son, then begin we to love him, the more we hate the body of sin, and lament and be sorry that our members are so frail that they cannot fulfil the law of God; and so in mourning and bewailing our infirmity, it causeth us to abstain from both meat and drink, and all worldly pleasures, which is the pure fast-

True repentance is a flourishing fruit of faith.

What pure fasting is.

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ing that we talk of; but you understand it not. And this repentance cometh not to purge the sin which is committed before, but only taketh an occasion by the sins before committed, to know what poison there remained in our flesh, and seeketh all means to make us hate this body of sin, and to subdue it with all manner of works that God hath appointed, to the intent that it should in time to come no more displease God, our most merciful Father, which of gentleness so often pardoneth and forgiveth us, as I have touched before. This is the manner of repentance which I find in Scripture, but this helpeth that we should sin no more; but what Rastell dreameth, I wot not. But to express to the uttermost what I mean by repentance, mark this example. If a man build a house which doth cost him much labour and money, and have laid no sure foundation, but that when a tempest cometh, his house doth fall, then will he be very sorry and repent that he hath so foolishly bestowed his money and labour: notwithstanding, all this great sorrow and repentance cannot set up his house again, which is fallen, but only it taketh an occasion by the ruin of the house, to teach the owner wit against another time, that when he buildeth again, he may make a sure foundation. Even so, though thou repent never so much, that cannot get remission for the sin that is past, but that must be pardoned only by the faith of Christ's blood: nevertheless, it doth teach thee wit, and learn thee to tame thy body and subdue it, and cast a low foundation, that in time thou mayest the better resist the assaults of the devil, the world, and the flesh. This doth Frith teach of repentance, let the world take it as they will, but Christ's sheep do hear his voice.

Repentance lively declared by an example.

THE third error which Rastell layeth against me is, That I would make men believe that they need not to do penance for the satisfaction of their sins.

Every child may answer him to this, if he over read

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or perceive what I wrote before of repentance. For as they take repentance for the sorrow and mourning that followeth the crime, even so they call penance the good works that ensue of repentance. And these good works which follow do mortify the members, and exercise us in God's commandments that we sin no more; but they can get no more remission of the sin which is once past, than that which they call repentance. And yet do we neither destroy sorrowing for sin, nor good works, as he falsely reporteth by us; but we teach you how they ought to be done, and that they are fruits of faith, and mortify our members, and are profitable to our neighbour, and a testimony unto us that we are the children of our heavenly Father. As by example, I say, That neither the sun nor the moon do justify us, or purchase remission of our sins; and yet I would not that Rastell should say, that I deny or destroy the sun and the moon, for I say that without them we can have no light, and that we cannot be without them. And as touching the solution of this, that penance taken in its largest signification, both for good works and taking of pains, is not satisfaction for sins; I must tell you once again, that there are two manner of satisfactions,—the one is to God, the other to my neighbour. To God cannot all the world make satisfaction for one crime; insomuch that if every grass of the ground were a man as holy as ever was Paul or Peter, and should pray unto God all their life long for one crime, yet could they make no satisfaction for it, but it is only the blood of Christ that hath made full satisfaction unto God for all such crimes (Heb. vii.); or else were there none other remedy, but we should all perish. There is another satisfaction, which is to my neighbour whom I have offended, whom I am bound to pacify as we two can agree, and as the laws of the realm determine between us: as if I had defamed him, then am I bound to pacify him, and to restore him to his good name again; if I have murdered any man, then by the laws of the realm I must die for

How good works do mortify our members.

Good works are the fruits of faith.

There are two manner of satisfactions.

Heb. vii.

Satisfaction to our neighbour.

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it, to pacify my neighbour and the commonwealth. But yet I am sure Rastell is not so childish as to think that this civil satisfaction is the very satisfaction which pacifieth God's wrath for breaking his law; for if thou murder a man, and should die a hundred times for it, yet except thou have satisfaction of Christ's blood, thou shalt be damned thereto: and so I spake that no temporal pain was instituted of God for the intent that we should satisfy God's wrath thereby; as it is plain in my book, if Rastell could see.

THE fourth error that he layeth against me is, that I would persuade the people, that good works are nothing available.

Now are we come to the fourth error, where Rastell untruly reporteth on me that I would persuade the people, that good works done by any man in this world are nothing available unto him that doth them, and that it is no hurt nor hinderance unto any man, though he never do none. Because I say they justify not before God, therefore he thinketh that other men would understand me as wisely as he doth, and argue that they are nothing available; but I must desire him to put on his spectacles and look again upon my book, and he shall find these words. Peradventure thou wilt answer unto me, Shall I then do no good deeds? I answer, Yes. Thou wilt answer me, Wherefore? I answer, Thou must do them, because God hath commanded them. [Thou wilt answer, Why hath God commanded them?] I answer, Thou art living in this world with men, and hast conversation with them, therefore hath God appointed thee what thou shalt do to the profit of thy neighbour, and taming of thy flesh, as Paul testifieth, (Ephes. ii.) We are his work in Christ Jesus, unto good works, which works God hath prepared, that we should walk in them. These works God would have us do, that the unfaithful might see the godly and

Good works are to be done, and why?

Ephes. ii.

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virtuous conversation of his faithful, and thereby be compelled to glorify our Father which is in heaven. (Matt. v.) And so are they both profitable unto thy neighbour, and also a testimony unto thee, by the which a man may know that thou art the right son of thy heavenly Father, and a very Christ unto thy neighbour. And after teacheth that we ought to do these works without having respect either to heaven or hell, but attending through charity the wealth of our neighbour, &c.

Good works are profitable to our neighbour, and also a testimony that we are the children of God.

I wonder that Rastell is not ashamed to say that I would make them believe that they are not available. Therefore, good reader, note my words: First, I say we must do them, because God hath commanded them; is it not available to keep the commandments of God? Secondarily, I say that they are to the profit of my neighbour; is it not available? Thirdly, I say that they tame our flesh; is it not available? Fourthly, I say they are to the glory of God; is it not available? Fifthly, I say they are a testimony to him that doth them, by the which men may know that he is the very son of God; is that not available? Belike, Rastell counteth nothing available but that which justifieth before God; he will say the sun is not available, because it justifieth not; fire is not available in his eyes, because it justifieth not, &c.

Then Rastell saith that I make a wonder's work with the Scripture, and alleges certain texts that we ought to do good works (which I never denied), and thereupon would conclude that works save and justify, and playeth me the ball lustily over the cord; but, as God would, there stood a post right in the way, and he hit it so full, that it made the ball to rebound over again backward; for in the alleging of his purpose, Paul saith, (Ephes. ii.) he hath clean lost the game. The words are these: By grace you be saved by your faith, and that is not of you, it is the gift of God, and not of

Ephes. ii. We are justified by grace and faith, which is not of ourselves, but is the gift of God.

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works, that no man should glorify himself; we are the works created of God in Christ Jesus, which God hath prepared that we should walk in them. Here, because he would have the latter end of the text to serve for his purpose, which teacheth good works, (which I never denied,) he bringeth in that thing which clean confuteth his opinion; for his opinion (which in all places he hath laboured to prove) is, that we are saved by good works. But now mark what he allegeth out of Paul: By grace you be saved by your faith: and that is not of you, it is the gift of God, and not of works, for that no man should glorify himself. Here Paul saith plainly, that our salvation is not of works; and so hath Rastell cast down that he built before, and may be likened to a shrewd cow, which, when she hath given a large mess of milk, turneth it down with her heel.

Rastell hath here overthrown all that he hath before built and set up.

Thus have I answered to as much of Rastell's treatise as I could get; if there be any more which may come to my hands, I shall do my diligence to disclose his deceit: so that God give me leave to keep the court with him, he shall win but little, except he convey his balls more craftly. And yet, the truth to say, we play not on even hand; for I am in a manner as a man bound to a post, and cannot so well bestow me in my play, as if I were at liberty, for I may not have such books as are necessary for me, neither yet pen, ink, nor paper, but only secretly, so that I am in continual fear both of the lieutenant and of my keeper, lest they should espy any such thing by me; and therefore it is little marvel, though the work be imperfect, for whensoever I hear the keys ring at the doors, straight all must be conveyed out of the way (and then if any notable thing had been in my mind, it was clean lost); and therefore I beseech thee, good reader, count it as a thing born out of season, which for many causes cannot have its perfect form and shape, and pardon me my rudeness and imperfection.

John Frith was straitly kept.

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JOHN FRITH'S JUDGMENT

UPON

MASTER WILLIAM TRACY'S TESTAMENT.

M.D.XXXI.

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JOHN FRITH

TO THE

CHRISTIAN READER.

THERE is nothing in this world that is so firm, stable, or godly, but that it may be undermined, and frowardly wrested of men, and specially if they be void of charity; as it is evident by William Tracy's Testament and last Will that he left, against the which many men, and that of long continuance, have blasphemously barked; whether of a godly zeal, or of a dasing brain, let other men judge. But this I dare boldly profess, that his godly sayings are ungodly handled: which thing I cannot so justly ascribe unto ignorance, as unto rancour, unto the Furies I had almost said; for if they had conferred all things unto the rule of charity, which envieth not, which is not puffed up, which is not stirred to vengeance, which thinketh none evil, but suffereth all things, believeth all things, trusteth all things, and beareth all things, they would not so headily have condemned those things, which might have been full devoutly expounded. Howbeit, they have not

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only attempted that thing, but have proceeded unto such madness, that they have taken upon them to strive with dead folks; for it is a most common jest in every man's mouth, that after the maker of this testament was departed and buried, they took up his body and burnt it, which thing declared their fury, although he felt no fire. Therefore we humbly require our most redoubted Prince, with all his nobles and present assembly, that even as all other things do of right depend of their judgment, that even so they would by their discreet advice, cure this disease, pondering all things with a more equal balance. So shall this enormous fact be looked upon with worthy correction, and the condition of the commonwealth shall be more quiet. Mark you, therefore, what things they are, which they so cruelly condemn.

JOHN FRITH'S JUDGMENT

UPON

MASTER WILLIAM TRACY'S TESTAMETNT.

Master Tracy.

IN the name of God, Amen. I William Tracy, of Todington, in the county of Gloucester, Esquire, make my Testament and last Will, as hereafter followeth, &c.

The rest of which testament you shall find before in the works of William Tyndale, fol. 429. [p. 2 of this vol.]

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John Frith.—It is marvel but here be somewhat that they improve, for their mind is so intoxicate, that there is nothing but they will note it with a black coal; and yet all may be established by the testimony of Scripture, for faith is the sure persuasion of our mind, of God and his goodness towards us. And whereas [there] is a sure persuasion of the mind, there can be no doubting or mistrust; for he that doubteth is like the flood of the sea, which is tossed with winds, and carried with violence: and let not that man think that he shall obtain any thing of God. (James i.) And therefore St. Austin saith, If I doubt, I shall be no holy seed. Furthermore, whereas he looketh through the grace and merits of Christ to obtain remission of his sins, surely it is a faithful saying, and worthy to be commended; for it is even the same that Peter professed, (Acts xv.) where he saith, Unto him do all the prophets bear witness, that through his name, as many as believe in him shall receive remission of their sins. Moreover, in that he trusteth, through Christ, to have resurrection of body and soul, they have no cause to blame him; for thus doth Paul argue, if Christ be risen, then shall we also rise, and if Christ be not risen, then shall not we rise; but Christ is risen, for his soul was not left in hell, therefore shall we also rise (whom Christ shall bring with him) and be immortal, both body and soul. (1 Cor. xv.) And therefore he doth both righteously and godly deduce his resurrection by Christ's, by whom the Father hath given us all things, or else we should not be. But there are some that gather of his words, that he should recount the soul to be mortal: which thing, after my judgment, is more subtilely gathered than either truly or charitably; for, seeing there was never Christian man that ever so thought, (no, not the very Pagans,) what godly zeal or brotherly love was there which caused them so to surmise? for a good man would not once dream such a thing. But I pray you, why

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should we not say that the soul doth verily rise, which, through Christ rising from the filth of sin, doth enter with the body into a new conversation of life, which they shall lead together without possibility of sinning? We say also of God (by a certain phrase of Scripture) that he ariseth, when he openeth unto us his power and presence. And why may we not say the same thing of the soul, which in the mean season seemeth to lie secret, and then shall express unto us (through Christ) her power and presence, in taking again her natural body? Why should ye then condemn these things? There is no man that can receive venom by those words, except he have such a spiderous nature, that he can turn an honeycomb into perilous poison. Therefore let us look on the residue.

Master Tracy.—And as touching the wealth of my soul, &c.

Frith.—Here he only cleaveth to God and his mercy, being surely persuaded, that according to the testimony of Peter, whosoever believeth in him, through his name, shall receive remission of sins. (Acts xv.) Paul also affirmeth, that whosoever trusteth in him shall not be confounded. (Rom. x.) And who can deny but this is most true, when it is understood of that faith which is formed with hope and charity, which the apostle calleth faith that worketh by charity? (Gal. v.) Now, since these things may be expounded so purely, forsooth he uttereth his own envy, which would otherwise wrest the mind of the maker of this testament.

And as touching the addition of this particle about any other man's work or works, it seemeth that he had respect unto this saying of Peter, which declareth that There is none other name under heaven given unto men, in which we should be saved. (Acts iv.) Besides that, St. Paul committeth the power of sanctifying to Christ only, (Heb. ii.) where he saith, Both he that sanctifieth

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(that is to say Christ) and they that are sanctified (that is to say the faithful) are all of one (that is God). And surely, if we laboured to excel each other in love and charity, we should not condemn this innocent, but we should rather measure his words by the rule of charity, insomuch that if a thing at the first sight did appear wicked, yet should we take it in the best sense, not judging wickedly of our brother, but referring that secret judgment unto Christ, which cannot be deceived; and though they be deceived by the pretence of charity, yet therein they may rejoice, and therefore they would be loth to condemn the innocent. But let us pass these things, and see what followeth.

Master Tracy.—My ground and my belief is, that there is but one God, &c.

Frith.—Why look you so sourly, good brethren? why do you not rather give him great thanks? since he hath opened unto you such a proper distinction, by the which you may escape the scholastical snares and mazes. He only deserveth the name of a mid-dealer, which being God, became man to make men gods. And who can by right be called a mid-dealer between God and man, but he that is both God and man? Therefore, since we have such a mid-dealer, which in all points hath proved our infirmity, (saving only in sin,) which is exalted above the heavens, and sitteth on the right hand of God, and hath in all things obtained the next power unto him, of whose empire all things depend, let us come with sure confidence unto the throne of grace. (Heb. iv.) All other he calleth petitioners which receive grace, but are not able to impress and pour thereof into any other man, for that doth only God distribute with his finger, (that is to say, the Spirit of God,) through Christ. I marvel that you are angry with him that hath done you such a great pleasure. Howbeit, I do ascribe this condemnation rather unto the canonists than unto divines; for the godly divines would never dote so far, as to condemn so

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proper sayings. But peradventure this might move their patience, that he will distribute no portion of his goods for that intent that any man should say or do for the weal of his soul. Are you so sore afraid of your market? Be not afraid, ye have salves enough to supple that sore. Ye know that he is not bound under pain of damnation to distribute his goods on that fashion; for then those holy fathers were in shrewd case, which continuing in long penury, scant left at their departing a half-penny. Thou wilt peradventure say, that they shall suffer the grievous pains of purgatory: be it so, yet may they be quenched both with less cost and labour; the Pope's pardon is ready at hand, where both the crime and the pain are remitted at once. And, verily, there is such plenty of them in all places, that I can scantly believe that there liveth any man that is worth an half-penny, but that he is sure of some pardons in store; and as for this man, he had innumerable. Notwithstanding, this distribution is not of necessity (for unto him that is damned, it profiteth nothing, and he that is not damned, is sure of salvation,) why are ye so hot against this man? are not his goods in his own power? he shall give a reckoning of them unto God, and not unto you. Here you may see of how light judgment you have condemned these things: now let us ponder the residue.

Master Tracy.—And as touching the burying of my body, &c.

Frith.—What hath he here offended which rehearseth nothing but the words of St. Austin? If you improve these things, then reprove you St. Austin himself. Now if you can find the means to allow St. Austin and charitably to expound his words, why do you not admit the same favour unto your brother, especially seeing charity requireth it? Besides that no man can deny but that these things are true, although St. Austin's authority were of no reputation with you; for if these

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things were of so great value before God, then Christ had evil provided for his martyrs, whose bodies are commonly cast out to be consumed with fire and wild beasts; notwithstanding, I would be afraid to say that they were any thing the worse for the burning of their bodies, or tearing of it in pieces. Be therefore charitable towards your brother, and ponder his words (which are rather St. Austin's) somewhat more justly.

Master Tracy.—As touching the distribution of my temporal goods, my purpose is, &c.

Frith.—There is no man doubteth but that faith is the root of the tree, and the quickening power out of which all good fruits spring; therefore it is necessary that this faith be present, or else we should look for good works in vain; for without faith it is impossible to please God. (Heb. xi.) Insomuch that St. Austin called those works that are done before faith, swift running out of the way. Moreover, that our merit cannot properly be ascribed unto our works, doth the Evangelist teach us, saying, When ye have done all things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done but our duty. (Luke xvii.) By the which saying, he doth in a manner fear us from putting any confidence in our own works; and so is our glorious pride and high mind excluded. Then where is our merit? Hark what St. Austin saith, The death of the Lord is my merit; I am not without merit as long as that merciful Lord faileth me not, &c. This death of the Lord cannot profit me, except I receive it through faith; and therefore he reckoneth right well that the faith in Christ is all his merit, I mean the faith which worketh through charity, that is to say, faith formed with hope and charity, and not that dead historical faith which the devils have and tremble. (James ii.) Furthermore, what St. Austin judgeth of our merit, he expresseth in these words: Mark the Psalm, how the proud head will not receive the crown, when he saith, He

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that redeemed thy life from corruption, which crowneth thee, (saith the Psalm:) hereupon would a man say, which crowneth thee, my merits grant that, my virtue hath done it, I have deserved it, it is not freely given: but give care rather to the pleasure, for that is but thine own saying, and every man is a liar; but hear what God saith, which crowneth thee in compassion and mercy, of mercy he crowneth thee, of compassion he crowneth thee, for thou wast not worthy that he should call thee, and whom he should justify when he called thee, and whom he should glorify, when he justifieth thee; for the remnants are saved by the election which is by grace and favour. (Rom. xi.) Now if it be by grace, then is it not of works, for then were grace no grace. (Rom. iv.) For unto him that worketh is the reward imputed, not of grace but of duty. (Rom. iv.) The apostle saith, not of grace but of duty; but he crowneth thee in compassion and mercy; and if thy merits have proceeded, God saith unto thee, Bolt out thy good merits, and thou shalt find that they are my gifts; this is the righteousness of God, not meaning the righteousness whereby he himself is righteous, but the righteousness wherewith he justifieth them whom he maketh righteous, where before they were wicked. These are Austin's words.

Finally, let not that move you, where he addeth, that a good work maketh not a good man, but rather a good man maketh the work good; for there is no man but he is either good or evil. If he be evil, then can he not do good, but evil; for according to Christ's testimony, A rotten tree beareth no good fruit. (Mat. vii.) And again he saith, How can you say well, seeing you yourselves are evil. (Mat. xii.) But if he be good, he shall also bring forth good fruit at his season; howbeit that fruit maketh not the man good, for except the man be first good, he cannot bring forth good fruit; but the tree is known by the fruit. And therefore faith, as a

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quickening root, must ever go before, which of wicked maketh us righteous and good, which thing our works could never bring to pass. Out of this fountain spring those good works which justify us before men, that is to say, declare us to be very righteous, for before God we are verily justified by that root of faith; for he searcheth the heart, and therefore this just judge doth inwardly justify or condemn, giving sentence according to faith; but men must look for the works, for their sight cannot enter into the heart, and therefore they first give judgment of works, and are many times deceived under the cloak of hypocrisy.

You may see that here is nothing but that a good man may expound it well; albeit the children of this world (which with their wiles deceive themselves, entering so presumptuously into God's judgment,) do seek a doubt where none is. Go ye, therefore, and let charity be your guide, for God is charity; and though our lawyer's heart would break, yet must you needs judge him a Christian man which saith nothing but that Scripture confirmeth. And verily the judgment of this cause came out of season, and even ungraciously unto our canonists, for they are clean ignorant of Scripture, and therefore condemn all things that they read not in their law; wherefore, we renounce their sentence, and appeal unto the divines, which will soon know the voice of their Shepherd, and gladly admit those things which are allowed by the Scripture, whereunto they are accustomed.

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A LETTER

WHICH

JOHN FRITH

WROTE UNTO THE FAITHFUL FOLLOWERS OF CHRIST'S GOSPEL, WHILST HE WAS PRISONER IN THE TOWER OF LONDON FOR THE WORD OF GOD.

ANNO M.D.XXXII.

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A LETTER

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GRACE and peace from God the Father, through our Saviour Christ Jesus, be with all them that love the Lord unfeignedly. Amen.

IT cannot be expressed, dearly beloved in the Lord, what joy and comfort it is to my heart to perceive how the word of God hath wrought, and continually worketh among you, so that I find no small number walking in the ways of the Lord, according as he gave us commandment, willing that we should love each other as he loved us. Now have I experience of the faith which is in you, and can testify that it is without simulation, that ye love not in word and tongue only, but in work and verity.

John ii. John xv. Rom. xii. John iii.

What can be more trial of a faithful heart, than to adventure, not only to aid and succour by the means of other, (which without danger may not be admitted unto us,) but also personally to visit the poor oppressed, and see that nothing be lacking unto them, but that they have both ghostly comfort and bodily sustenance, notwithstanding the strait inhibition and terrible menacing

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of these worldly rulers, ever ready to abide the extreme jeopardies that tyrants can imagine.

This is an evidence, that you have prepared yourselves to the cross of Christ, according unto the council of the wise man, which saith, My son, when thou shalt enter into the way of the Lord, prepare thyself unto tribulation. This is an evidence that ye have cast your accounts, and have wherewith to finish the tower which ye have begun to build. And I doubt not but that he which hath begun to work in you, shall for his glory accomplish the same, even unto the coming of the Lord, which shall give unto every man according to his deeds.

Luke xiv.
Phil. i.

And, albeit God of his secret judgments for a time keep the rod from some of them that ensue his steps, yet let them surely reckon upon it, for there is no doubt but all which will devoutly live in Christ, must suffer persecution; for whom the Lord loveth he correcteth, and scourgeth every child that he receiveth; for what child is that whom the father chastiseth not? If ye be not under correction, of which we all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not children.

Rom. xxi.
2 Tim. iii.
Heb. xii.

Nevertheless, we may not suppose that our most loving Father should do that, because he rejoiceth in our blood or punishment, but he doth it for our singular profit, that we may be partakers of holiness, and that the remnants of sin, which, through the frailty of our members, rebel against the spirit and will, causing our works to go imperfectly forwards, may some day be suppressed, lest they should subdue us and reign over us: as I have sufficiently declared in the epistle of my book, which entreateth of purgatory, to the which I remit them that desire to be further instructed in this matter.

Of these things God had given me the speculation before; and now it hath pleased him to put it in use and practice upon me. I ever thought, and yet do think, that to walk after God's word, would cost me my

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life at one time or another. And, albeit that the King's grace should take me into his favour, and not to suffer the bloody Edomites to have their pleasures upon me; yet will I not think that I am escaped, but that God hath only deferred it for a season, to the intent that I should work somewhat that he hath appointed me to do, and so to use me unto his glory.

And I beseech all the faithful followers of the Lord, to arm themselves with the same supposition, marking themselves with the sign of the cross; not from the cross, as the superstitious multitude do, but rather to the cross, in token that they be ever ready willingly to receive the cross, when it shall please God to lay it upon them. The day that it cometh not, count it clear won, giving thanks to the Lord which hath kept it from you; and then when it cometh, it shall nothing dismay you, for it is no new thing, but even that which ye have continually looked for.

And doubt not but that God, which is faithful, shall not suffer you to be tempted above that which ye are able to bear, but shall ever send some occasion by the which ye shall stand steadfast; for either he shall blind the eyes of your enemies and diminish their tyrannous power, or else, when he hath suffered them to do their best, and that the dragon hath cast a whole flood of waters after you, he shall cause even the very earth to open her mouth and swallow them up. So faithful is he and careful to ease us what time the vexation should be too heavy for us. Cor. x. Apoc. xii.

He shall send a Joseph before you against ye shall come into Egypt; yea, he shall so provide for you, that ye shall have an hundred fathers for one, an hundred mothers for one; an hundred houses for one, and that in this life, as I have proved by experience; and after this life, everlasting joy with Christ our Saviour. Mark ii.

Notwithstanding, since this steadfastness cometh not of ourselves, for (as St. Austin saith) there was never

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man so weak or frail, no, not the greatest offender that ever lived, but that every man of his own nature should be as frail, and commit as great enormities, except he were kept from it by the Spirit and power of God: I

Rom. xv. beseech you, brethren, in the Lord Jesus Christ, and for the love of his Spirit, to pray with me, that we may be vessels to his land and praise, what time soever it pleaseth him to call upon us.

Ephes. i. The Father of glory give us the Spirit of wisdom, understanding, and knowledge, and lighten the eyes of our mind, that we may know his ways, praising the Lord eternally. If it please any of our brethren to write unto us of any such doubts as peradventure may be found in our books, it should be very acceptable unto us, and, as I trust, not unfruitful for them. For I will endeavour myself to satisfy them in all points, by God's grace. To whom I commit to be governed and defended for ever. Amen.

John Frith, the prisoner of Jesus Christ, at all times abiding his pleasure.

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A TREATISE

MADE

BY THE SAID JOHN FRITH

WHILE HE WAS PRISONER IN THE TOWER OF LONDON,
AN NOM.D.XXXII.

CALLED

A MIRROR, OR GLASS, TO KNOW THYSELF.

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PREFACE.

I WAS desired of a faithful friend, (to whom I am so much bound that he might lawfully have commanded me,) that I would make him a little treatise, by the which he might be somewhat instructed to know himself, and so give God thanks for the benefits which he hath so abundantly poured upon him. This thing I took upon me very gladly, partly to fulfil his righteous request, which I trust shall be to the great profit of Christ's flock, and partly to declare what I think both of myself and of all other.

Herein may all men see what they have received of God, and how they ought to bestow the talent that is committed unto them, which if you note well, it will cause you to say with the wise man Solomon: *Universa vanitas omnis homo vivens,* Eccles. i. that is, Every man living is nothing but vanity; which also the prophet David confirmeth, saying, Psal. lxii. If all men living were pondered in one balance, and vanity hanged in the balance against them, it Eccles. v. should quite weigh* them down, and be heavier than all they. As, by example, if a man praise a Note. very fool, and think his wit good and profound, then is that person, indeed, more fool than the other. And even so, since man doth praise and

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commend riches, honour, beauty, strength, and such other vain and transitory things which are but as a dream, and vanish like a flower in the field, when a man should have most need of them; it followeth well that he himself is more vain than those things which are but vanity. For if it were possible that thou shouldest have all these things an hundred year continually, without any trouble or adversity as never man had, yet were it but a vain dream, if it be compared unto that everlasting life which is prepared for Christ's elect and faithful followers. So that all flesh is as hay, and all his glory like a flower of the hay is withered, and the flower fallen, but God and his word endure for ever.

Isaiah xl.

Therefore, let not the wise man rejoice in his wisdom, neither the strong man in his strength, nor the rich in his riches. But he that rejoiceth, let him rejoice in the Lord, to whom be all honour and praise without end. Amen.

Jer. ix.

1 Cor. i.

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A MIRROR, OR GLASS, TO KNOW THYSELF.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

THAT ALL GOODNESS COMETH OF GOD, AND ALL EVIL OF OURSELVES.

THE philosophers to whom God had inspired certain sparkles of truth, acknowledged that the chiefest point of wisdom and direction of a man's life, was to know himself; which sentence the Scripture establisheth so clearly, that no man may dissent from the truth of the same. For Solomon saith, that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. Now who can fear the Lord, but only he that knoweth himself, as the Scripture teacheth him? For if I perceive not the imperfection of my nature, which is subject unto corruption, and void of all stableness; if I perceive not the unstableness of my flesh, being prone to all sin, and rebellious to righteousness, and that there dwelleth no goodness in me; if I perceive not the poison of the old

Rom. i.

Prov. i.

Rom. viii.

Rom. vii.

Matt. xxv.

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serpent, and hell, and sin which lieth hid within me, unto which are prepared pains intolerable, I shall have no occasion to fear God, but rather to advance myself
Isa. xiv. Dan. iv. Acts xii. equal with God, as Lucifer, Nebuchadnezzar, Herod, and such other have done, which after were sore chastened for their folly.

What hast thou, vain man, whereof thou mayest rejoice? For the Scripture testifieth that every good
Rom. iii. James i. and perfect gift cometh from above from the Father of light, with whom is no transmutation. So that whether they be outward gifts or inward, pertaining either to the body or soul, if they be good, they come from above
Matt. vi. from the Father of light. For if thou behold the proportion of thy body, stature, or beauty, thou shalt easily perceive that it cometh of God, even by the words of Christ which exhorteth us not to be careful. For
Matt. v. there is none of us all, though we be ever so careful, that can add one [cubit to our] stature, either make one white hair or black.

And, as touching our wisdom, eloquence, long life, victory, glory, and such other, the Scripture testifieth
James i. that they come of God, and not of ourselves. For St. James saith, If any lack wisdom, let him ask it of God, which giveth it abundantly. As it is evident by Solo-
2 Kings iii. mon, which of God desired wisdom to judge between good and evil. And the Lord made him answer, that because he asked that thing, and not long life, nor riches, nor the destruction of his enemies, but rather wisdom to discern in judgment: Behold, I have given unto thee an heart full of wisdom and understanding, in so much that none before thee hath been like unto thee, neither yet after thee shall any be like unto thee. And besides that, I have given thee riches and glory.

Furthermore, the most glorious gifts concerning our souls, come from God even of his mere mercy and favour, which he showeth us in Christ, and for Christ, as predestination, election, vocation, and justification; and

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albeit M. More, with his painted poetry, and crafty conveyance, do cast a mist before your eyes, that you might wander out of the right way, endeavouring himself to instruct you, that God hath predestinated and chosen us before the beginning of the world, because he knew before that we should do good works, yet will I set you up a candle which shall shine so bright, and so clearly dispel his mist and vain poetry, that you shall plainly perceive him dancing naked in a net, which, notwithstanding, thinketh himself to go invisible. And although there be Scriptures enough (both Tit. iii. and Rom. ii.) to prove the same true, yet will I let that pass, and allege for me, St. Austin, which is the candle that I speak of, which shall disclose his juggling, and utter his ignorance; for St. Austin saith, Some man will affirm that God did choose us, because he saw before that we should do good works; but Christ saith not so, which saith, Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you; for, (saith he,) if he had chosen us because he saw before that we should do good works, then should he also have seen before, that we should first have chosen him, which is contrary to the words of Christ, and mind of the Evangelist. Here may you see how evidently St. Austin confuteth M. More's poetry, and openeth his serpentine deceit.

More's mist.

M. More dancing in a net, thinketh himself invisible.

John xv.

Finally, St. Paul saith, (Ephes. ii.) that we are saved through grace, and that it cometh not of ourselves; it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himself: which words M. More might be ashamed to hear if he were not another Lucian, neither regarding God nor man. But St. Austin addeth thus much more unto it: *Non erit gratia ullo modo nisi fuerit gratuita omni modo;* that is to say, that it can in no wise be grace or favour except it be always free. And therefore I may conclude, that it is neither of the works going before, nor of the works coming after, but only of the free favour of God.

Ephes. ii.

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And this are we sure of, that whomsoever he chooseth, them he saveth of his mercy; and whom he repelleth, them of his secret and unsearchable judgment he condemneth. But why he chooseth the one, and repelleth the other, enquire not, saith St. Austin, if thou wilt not err. Insomuch, that St. Paul could not attain
Rom. xv. to the knowledge thereof, but cried out, Oh! the depth of the riches and wisdom of the knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his judgments, and how incomprehensible are his ways! But M. More had lever aloud to lie, and far to err, than to let God alone with his secrets, or to acknowledge his ignorance in any thing.

And, to be short, St. Paul saith, What hast thou that thou hast not received? If thou hast received it, why dost thou avaunce thyself as though thou hadst not received it? So we may conclude, that all goodness cometh of God, and all sin or mischief of our own poisoned nature. Insomuch, that we may say with the prophet Daniel: *Tibi Domine gloria, nobis autem confusio faciei.* O Lord, all glory be unto thee, and unto
1 Cor. i. us shame and confusion, so that he that rejoiceth, may rejoice in the Lord.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

FOR WHAT INTENT GOD GIVETH US THESE GIFTS, AND THAT THEY ARE RATHER A CHARGE AND A CAREFUL BURTHEN, THAN ANY PLEASURE TO REJOICE AT.

1 Cor. ii. LIKE as there are many members of our body, and every member hath his office appointed unto him, which he must do, not for his own wealth and safeguard only, but for the preservation of the whole body, insomuch that the most honest member must serve the vilest at his necessity; for if the hand would not serve

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the slow belly, they should both perish together: even so hath God appointed his gifts, and distributed them in this world unto us (which should be as one body,) that every nation hath need of another, every occupation need of another, and every man need of his neighbour. This is so plain that it cannot be denied. Nevertheless I will more specially touch the matter, because I would have it so rooted in you, that you might endeavour yourselves to fulfil it towards each other.

If God have opened the eyes of thy mind, and have given thee spiritual wisdom through the knowledge of his word, boast not thyself of it, but rather fear and tremble; for a chargeable office is committed unto thee, which (if thou fulfil it) is like to cost thee thy life at one time or other, with much trouble and persecution. But if thou fulfil it not, then shall that office be thy damnation; for St. Paul saith, Wo is to me if I preach not! And by the prophet Ezekiel, God saith, If I say unto the wicked that he shall die the death, and thou show him not of it, the wicked shall die in his iniquity, but I shall require his blood of thy hand. 1 Cor. ix. Ezek. xxiii.

But, peradventure, our divines would expound these texts only upon them that are sent, and have cure of souls. Whereunto I answer, that every man which hath the light of God's word revelated unto him, is sent whensoever he seeth necessity, and hath cure of his neighbour's soul. As, by example, if God have given me my sight, and I perceive a blind man going in the way, which is ready, for lack of sight, to fall into a pit, wherein he were like to perish, then am I bound, by God's commandment, to guide him till he were past that jeopardy, or else, if he perish therein, (where I might have delivered him,) his blood shall be required of my hand. And likewise, if I perceive my neighbour like to perish for lack of Christ's doctrine, then am I bound to instruct him with the knowledge that God hath given me, or else his blood shall be required of my hand.

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Peradventure, they will say that there is already one
Objection. appointed to watch the pit, and therefore, if any man fall into it, he shall make it good, and that therefore I am discharged and need to take no thought. Where-
Solution. unto I answer, I would be glad that it so were. Notwithstanding, if I perceive that the watchman be asleep, or run to the alehouse to make good cheer, or gone out of the country a whore-hunting, and through his negligence espy my neighbour in danger of the pit, then am I nevertheless bound to lead him from it. I think that God hath sent me at that time to save that soul from perishing. And the law of God and nature bindeth me thereto, which chargeth me to love my neighbour as myself, and to do unto him as I would be done to.
Matt. vii. And I think there is no man, that is in this case, but he would have his neighbour to help him; and therefore is he bound to help his neighbour if he be in like jeopardy. And even thus art thou bound to give good counsel to him that lacketh it, and to distribute whatsoever talent thou hast received of God unto the profit of thy neighbour. Moreover, besides, that ye cannot avoid this my solution, yet I desire you to note how the text itself, which I alleged, doth condemn your vain objection; the words are these, (Ezekiel iii.) "If I say unto the wicked, that he shall die the death, and thou show him not of it, the wicked shall die in his iniquity, but I shall require his blood of thy hand. Mark, I pray you, that the prophet saith, not, as you object, that he which should show the wicked his iniquity, and doth not so, shall perish only, and the wicked himself to be saved, because his fault was not told him by him which took charge to teach him; but contrarywise, the wicked shall perish in his iniquity, (saith God by his prophet Ezekiel,) and his blood shall be required of the hand of him which should have instructed him in the truth.
Rom. ii. If God have given thee faith in Christ's blood, be not proud of it, but fear; for since God hath not spared

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the natural branches, (I mean the Jews, which were his elect people;) since he spared not the angels that sinned, but hath cast them into hell, to be reserved unto judgment; since he spared not the old world, but overwhelmed them with waters, delivering Noah the preacher of righteousness, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Truth it is, that where faith is present, no sin can be imputed, but this faith is not in thy power, for it is the gift of God. And therefore, if thou be unkind, and endeavour not thyself to walk innocently, and to bring forth the fruits of faith, it is to be feared that for thine unkindness God will take it from thee, and hire out his vineyard to another, which shall restore the fruit in due season, and then shall thine end be worse than thy beginning. Let us therefore with fear and trembling seek our health and make stable our vocation and election, mortifying our members and man of sin, by exercising ourselves in Christ's precepts, that we may be the children of our Father that is in heaven, and fellow heirs with our Saviour and brother Christ Jesus.

2 Pet. ii. 1 Cor. xii. Matt. iii. Matt. xxi. Matt. xii. Phil. ii. 2 Pet. i.

If God have given thee riches, thou mayest not think that he hath committed them unto thee for thine own use only, but that he hath made thee a steward over them to distribute them to the profit of the community; for indeed thou art not the very owner of them, but God is the owner, which saith, by the prophet Haggai, Gold is mine, and silver is mine; and he hath committed them for a season to thy hand, to see whether thou wilt be faithful in distributing this wicked mammon, according to his commandments. And that it so is, thou mayest well note by the parable of the rich man, which was clothed in silk, and fared delicately in this world, and after was buried in hell; whereupon St. Gregory noteth that he was not damned because he despoiled any other man's, but because he did not distribute his own, as the process of the text doth also well declare. Wherefore, if we must give accounts of all that is given us, then

Matt. v. Hag. ii. Luke xvi.

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have we little cause to glory, but rather to fear and tremble, and to count him most happy to whom least is committed; for God, to whom this account must be made, cannot be deluded, although the world may be blinded.

If God have given thee thy perfect limbs and members, then get to some occupation, and work with thine own hands, that thy members which are whole and perfect may minister to their necessity that lack their members; for that is acceptable in the sight of God, and the contrary so detestable, that if thou withdraw thy members from aiding thy neighbours, thou shalt of God be recounted for a thief and a murderer. And therefore, I affirm that all our holy hypocrites and idle-bellied monks, canons, and priests, whether they be regular or secular, if they labour not to preach God's word, are thieves and also murderers; for they maintain their strong members in idleness, which ought to labour for the profit of their neighbours, that their perfect members might minister unto the necessity of them that lack their members: as the eye must minister her fruit of sight unto the feet, hands, and other members which lack it; or else are they in jeopardy to perish at every pit, and the eye guilty of their destruction for withdrawing her office from them. And this may we establish by the words of St. Paul, which saith,

Ephes. iv. He that did steal, let him steal no more, but rather labour with his own hands, that he may have to distribute to them that lack. And some doctors do very well expound it of certain persons that walked inordinately, and would not work themselves, though they were sturdy lubbers, but lived on other men's charity, which thing the apostle calleth theft, and exhorteth them to work with their own hands, that they may both help themselves and others.

And for because some persons which feel themselves aggrieved, because they are guilty, will not be content to

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allow this exposition, I will allege another text of the wise man, which shall not only allow this sentence, but also bite them better; for he saith, *Panis egentium vita pauperis est, qui autem defraudat eum homo sanguinis est*, that is to say, The bread of the needy is the life of the poor, and he that defraudeth him of it is a murderer. This text holdeth their noses so hard to the grindstone, that it clean disfigureth their faces, for it proveth our bishops, abbots, and spiritual possessionaries double thieves and murderers, as concerning the body (besides their murdering of the soul for lack of God's word, which they will neither preach, nor suffer any to do it purely, but persecute and put them to the most cruel death.) First, they are thieves and murderers, because they distribute not that which was appointed by our faithful forefathers to the intent it should have been ministered unto the poor, (for then they seemed to be very virtuous,) but now they bestow it upon hawks, hounds, horses, &c. upon gorgeous apparel and delicate fare: and glad are the poor when they may get the scraps. They may have not so much as a pig of their own sow, nor scant a feather of their own goose. For he that may dispend four or five thousand marks a year, would think it were too much if he gave twenty nobles of it unto the poor, which, notwithstanding, are the owners, under God, of all together, the minister's living deduct, which (as the apostle saith,) having their food and clothes to cover them, ought therewith to be content. And thus they defraud the poor of their bread, and so are they thieves; and (because this bread is their life,) as the aforesaid text testifieth, He that defraudeth him of it, is not only a thief, but also a murderer.

Ec xxxiv.

1 Tim. vi.

And when they think to bestow it very well, and bestow it in building palaces of pleasure, yet are they therein much to be reproved; for as an old doctor saith, they are in that point worse than the devil, for the devil would have had that Christ should have turned stones

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into bread (which might have succoured the poor,) and these builders turn the bread into stones. For they bestow the good which should be given to the poor for their sustenance, upon an heap of stones.

Objection. But here they will object (as they are never without evasions,) that if they should distribute it among the poor according as they are bound, within a while all would be spent, and no good should come of it, nor no man know where it is become, or who fareth the better

Solution. for it. Whereunto I answer, that indeed ye be too wise for me; for since ye go about to correct Christ, and to set him to school and learn him what is best, it were but folly for me to meddle with you. For Christ's mind and commandment is, that we should distribute it, and

Eccles. iv. not withhold it from them. And saith by his prophet,

Isaiah v. Wo be to them that couple and knit houses together! which I think may justly be verified upon you. Nevertheless, this I dare say, that if a bishop, which may dispense four thousand marks, would, unto the poor of his diocese, distribute every year but the one half, giving unto one man forty shillings, and lending unto another twenty nobles to set up his occupation withal, and so give and lend as he seeth need, he should within five or six years more make a flourishing diocese. And I think, verily, that his face should more be allowed before God, than if he had builded a thousand abbeys; for God's commandment ought first to be done, and is much more acceptable to him than all the works that proceed of our imaginations and foolish phantasies.

Besides that they are thieves and murderers for withdrawing their perfect members from labour, whereby they might minister unto their neighbours' necessity, (I speak of as many as are not occupied about preaching God's word;) for in that they withdraw their members from succouring their poor neighbours, they are thieves; and because this succour is called their life, they are murderers for keeping it from them.

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Here our begging orders of friars would think to be exempt, because they have not received rents to be distributed. Notwithstanding, if we ponder this text well, we shall find them condemned as deep as the other. For they enter into every mass-house, and with unshamefaced begging, poll them so nigh, that in a manner they leave nothing behind for the very poor which are sick, lame, crippled, blind, and maimed; for there is not the poorest desolate widow, but with his fair flattering he will so deceive her, that he will be sure either of money or ware. But, dear brethren, maintain ye no such murderers, lest ye be partakers of their sins, but rather follow the counsel of the apostle, which chargeth us in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that we withdraw ourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and worketh not; and biddeth, if he will not work, he should not eat. 2 Thes. iii.

Now if they object that they live in contemplation, and study of Scripture, and say that they ought not to be let from that holy work; for Christ said that Mary had chosen the best part which should not be taken from her:

Thereunto may I make the same answer which that holy father and abbot St. Silvan made. This Silvan was an abbot, a holy man, having many monks under him, whom he caused, after their prayers (which were nothing so long as our monks use now-a-days, which think for their many words to be heard, like as did the Pharisees whom Christ rebuked;) he caused them, I say, to labour for their living, according to the word of Paul. And upon a time there came a religious man to his abbey, and when he saw his monks working, he asked the abbot why he so used them? and why they gave not themselves to holy contemplation, seeing that Mary had chosen the best part? The abbot made few words, but gave this monk a book, and sent him into a cell, to be there occupied in study and contemplation.

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And at dinner time the abbot called all his monks to meat, and let him sit in contemplation. After noon, when he began to wear very hungry, he came out again to the abbot Silvan, and asked whether his monks had not yet dined? And he answered, Yes.—And why called ye not me, quoth the monk, to dine with them? —Verily, said the abbot, I thought you had been all spiritual, and had needed no meat.—Nay, quoth the monk, I am not so spiritual, nor fervent in contemplation, but that I must needs eat.—Verily, said the abbot, then must you also needs work, for Mary hath need of Martha. When the monk heard that, he repented, and fell to work as the other did. And I would to God that this answer would cause our religious even so to do, and to fall to work, that they might succour their needy neighbours.

And as touching their study in Scripture, St. Austin saith, How shalt thou better learn to understand the Scripture, than by going about to fulfil that thou there readest? And if thou go about to fulfil it, saith he, then must thou work with thy hands, for that doth St. Paul teach thee. Of this I have compiled a whole book, which if God have appointed me to finish it and set it forth, shall be a rule of more perfection unto our religious, than any that they have used this hundred year.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

THE CONCLUSION OF THIS TREATISE, THAT NO FLESH SHOULD REJOICE, BUT FEAR AND TREMBLE IN ALL THE GIFTS THAT HE RECEIVETH.

HERE mayest thou perceive that no man liveth but he may fear and tremble; and most he may fear, to whom most is committed, for of him shall much be re-

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quired. And much are we bound to thank God in all things; for ourselves have we nought but sin and vanity, but through his gracious favour have we all goodness, and be that we be. And since all our goodness cometh of him, we must again be thankful unto him, and keep his commandments; for else we may fear lest he take his gifts from us, and then shall we receive the greater damnation.

If thou have received the knowledge of his word, give him thanks, and be a faithful minister thereof; for else he shall deliver thee unto thine own fantastical imaginations, and cast thee headlong into an heap of heresies, which shall bring thee into utter destruction.

If he give thee faith in his word, give him thanks, and bring forth the fruits thereof in due season; for else he will take it away from thee, and send thee into final desperation.

If he give thee riches, then give him thanks, and distribute them according to God's commandment; or else he shall take them from thee, (if he love thee,) either by thieves, by water, by death of thy cattle, by blasting thy fruits, or such other scourges, to cause thee to love him, Isaiah v. because he would alienate thine heart from them: this I Jer. vii. say he will do, if he love thee, to make thee put thine whole trust in him, and not in these transitory things. But if he hate thee, then will he send thee great prosperity, and increase them plenteously, and give thee thy heaven in this world, unto thine everlasting damnation in the life to come; and therefore fear, and take good heed whilst thou hast leisure. Jer. xii.

If thou ask me what his honour, praise, and thanks are? I answer, that his honour, praise, and thanks, is nothing else but the fulfilling of his commandments. If thou ask me what his commandments are, as touching the bestowing of thy goods? I answer, His commandments are, that thou bestow them in the works of mercy, and that shall he lay to thy charge at the day of

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judgement. He shall ask you, whether you have fed the hungry, and given drink to the thirsty, and not whether you have builded abbeys and chantries. He shall ask you whether you have harboured the harbourless, and clothed the naked, and not whether you have gilded images, or given copes to churches. He shall ask you whether you have visited the sick, and gone to the prisoners, and not whether you have gone a pilgrimage to Walsingham or Canterbury. And this I affirm unto thee, that if thou build a thousand cloisters, and give as many copes and chalices to churches, and visitest all the pilgrimages in the world, and espiest and seest a poor man whom thou mightest help, perishing for lack of one groat, all these things whereon thou hast bestowed so much money, shall not be able to help thee. Therefore, take good heed, and say not but that ye be warned.

If God have given thee thy perfect limbs and members, then give him thanks, and use them to the taming of thy body, and profit of thy neighbour. For else, if God love thee, he will send thee some maim or mischief, and take them from thee, that thy negligence and none using of them be not so extremely imputed unto thee. But if he hate thee, he shall keep them whole and sound for thee, that the none using of them may be thy greater damnation. Therefore, beware, and fear, giving him thanks according to his commandments. For we are his creatures, and are much bound to him that he hath given to us our perfect members; for it is better for us to have our limbs, and to work with them distributing to others, than that others should distribute unto us; for it is a more holy thing to give than to take; yea, we are much bound unto him, although he have made us imperfect and mutilate; for we were in his hands, (as we are yet,) to have done with us whatsoever had pleased him, even to have made us the vilest creature upon the earth.

Acts ii.

Jer. xviii.

I have read of a shepherd, which, keeping his sheep

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in the field, espied a foul toad, and when he had well marked her, and conferred her shape, and nature, unto himself and his nature, he fell a weeping and cried out piteously. At the last, came a bishop by, riding right royally; and when he saw the shepherd so sore lamenting, he reined his horse, and asked him the cause of his great wailing. Then answered the shepherd, Verily, Sir, I weep for mine unkindness towards almighty God; for I have given thanks to God of many things, but yet I was never so kind since I was born, as to thank him of this thing.—What is that? said the bishop.—Sir, (quoth he,) see you not this foul toad?—Yes! (quoth the bishop,) what is that to the purpose?—Verily, (said the shepherd,) it is the creature of God as well as I am, and God might have made me even such a foul and unreasonable beast as this is, if it had pleased him, and yet he hath not done so, but of his mercy and goodness he hath made me a reasonable creature, after his own shape and likeness; and yet was I never so kind as to thank him that he had not made me so vile a creature, which thing I greatly bewail, and mine unkindness causeth me now thus to weep.—With that the bishop departed, and, I trust, learned to do thereafter. And I beseech God that we may so do, and be the faithful followers of our Saviour Christ Jesus, to whom be praise, honour, and glory for ever. Amen.

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A MIRROR, OR LOOKING GLASS,

WHEREIN YOU MAY BEHOLD

THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM DESCRIBED.

ANNO M.D.XXXIII.

BY ME,

JOHN FRITH.

He that will believe and be baptized, shall be saved: but he that will not believe shall be condemned. Mark xvi.

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A MIRROR, OR LOOKING GLASS,

WHEREIN YOU MAY BEHOLD

THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM DESCRIBED.

ANNO M.D.XXXIII.

BY ME,

JOHN FRITH.

CONSIDERING the manifold and lamentable errors wherewith not the ignorant people only, but also the learned, (as they seem,) have been seduced long, as touching the blessed sacrament of baptism, I thought it expedient therein to write my mind, trusting, by that means, to bring again the blind hearts of many unto the right way; and I doubt not but that the elect and chosen of God, that know their Shepherd's voice, and have the spirit to judge all things, shall easily perceive whether this be conformable to their master's voice, and shall hereby be monished to leave their wandering in the dark and loathsome ways which lead unto death, and to walk without stumbling in the comfortable light which bringeth their consciences to rest, and such peace that passeth all understanding.

John x.

1 Cor. ii.

God's elect perceive easily the spiritual meaning of his sacraments.

Walking in the truth bringeth rest of conscience.

One error is this: They put so great confidence in the outward sign, that without discretion they condemn the infants, which die or they be baptized, unto everlasting pain. Another is this: They cleave so strongly unto the weak ceremonies, that they think if a drunken priest leave out a word, as *Volo* say ye, or *Credo* say ye, or forget to put spittle or salt in the child's mouth, that

Phil. iv.

Papists, through the gross understanding of baptism, condemn infants unbaptized.

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External signs without spiritual sense, taught and believed of the blind papists.

the child is not christened; yea, so much give they thereunto the beggarly salt, that they will say, Spill not the salt, for it is our Christendom; and use also to swear by it; saying, By this salt, that it is my Christendom. Alas! what blindness is this. These two errors are the principal that I do intend at this time to confute; for when they are fallen, the other that are grounded on these must needs decay. First, we must mark three things in every sacrament to be considered, the sign, the signification, and the faith which is given unto the words of God. The sign in baptism, is the plunging down in the material water, and lifting up again, by the which, as by an outward badge, we are known to be of the number of them which profess Christ to be their Redeemer and Saviour.

Three things ought to be considered in every sacrament.

Outward signs neither minister unto us God's Spirit nor his grace.

This outward sign doth neither give us the Spirit of God; neither yet grace, that is the favour of God. For if through the washing in the water, the Spirit or grace were given, then should it follow that whosoever were baptized in water should receive this precious gift; but that is not so, wherefore I must needs conclude that this outward sign, by any power or influence that it hath, bringeth not the Spirit or favour of God. That every man receiveth not this treasure in baptism, it is evident; for put the case, that a Jew or an infidel should say that he did believe, and believed not indeed, and upon his words were baptized indeed, (for no man can judge what his heart is, but we must receive him unto baptism if he confess our faith with his mouth, albeit his heart be far from thence,) this miscreant, now thus baptized, hath received this outward sign and sacrament, as well the most faithful man believing. Howbeit, he neither receiveth the Spirit of God, neither yet any grace, but rather condemnation. Wherefore, it is evident that the exterior sign giveth not this gift: which is also as certain in all other sacraments, yea, in the sacrament of the altar, which may be called a double sacrament.

Mark well this example.

He that receiveth the sign of a sacrament outwardly, and not the signification inwardly in heart, receiveth his damnation

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For it is not only a remembrance that the natural body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed for our redemption, as the evangelists do testify, but also it is his spiritual body, which is the congregation of the faithful, as St. Paul testifieth, saying, The bread which we break, is it not the partaking (that is to say, we that are partakers,) of the body of Christ? For we, (saith he,) though we be many, yet are we one bread and one body. But for all that, the receiving of this sacrament giveth us not the Spirit of God, neither yet his favour; for the wicked receiveth it, as well as the good: howbeit, that receiving is to their damnation. Wherefore it followeth that the outward sign giveth no man any grace. Moreover, if the Spirit of God and his grace were bound unto the sacraments, then where the sacraments were ministered, there must the Spirit of grace wait on; and where they were not ministered, should be neither Spirit nor grace. But that is false, for Cornelius and all his household received the Holy Ghost before they were baptized. Insomuch that Peter said, May any man forbid that these should be baptized with water, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And so he commanded them to be baptized, in the name of the Lord. Here may we see, that as the Spirit of God lighteth where he will, neither is he bound to any thing. Yea, and this example doth well declare unto us, that the sacraments are given to be an outward witness unto all the congregation, of that grace which is given before privately unto every man.

Note.

The Spirit of God is not bound to the outward signs of Sacraments.

Acts x.

God's Spirit not bound to any place.

So is baptism given before the congregation unto him which, before he receive it, hath either professed the religion of Christ, or else hath the word of promise, by the which promise he is known to be of the sensible congregation of Christ. And for this cause, when we baptize one that is come unto the age of discretion, we ask of him whether he believe? if he answer yea, and desire baptism, then is he baptized: so that we require faith in

Infidels must first believe in Christ, and after receive baptism as the badge of their faith in him.

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Note. him before he is baptized, which is the gift of God, and cometh of grace; and so is it an outward sign of his invisible faith, which before was given him of God. If an infant be brought unto baptism, whom his friends offer up willing to sanctify and fulfil the commandment and ordinance of God, we inquire of his friends, before the congregation, whether they will that their child be baptized, and when they have answered yea, then receiveth he baptism. Here also went before the promise of God, that he of his grace reputeth our infants no less of the congregation than the infants of the Hebrews; and through baptism doth the congregation receive him, which was first received through grace of the promise. Thus may we see that baptism bringeth not grace, but doth testify unto the congregation that he which is baptized had such grace given him before: so

The definition of baptism. is baptism a sacrament, that is, the sign of an holy thing, even a token of the grace and free mercy which was before given him, a visible example of invisible grace, which is done and given through the gentleness of God. By this may we perceive how gross their ignorance is, which, without discretion, condemn the infants that depart out of this world, not baptized in our material water. For if that water give no grace, as I have sufficiently proved, why should they condemn more before

Faith followeth our election. Acts xiii. that washing, than after? Besides, that the election of God is free, and followeth not our faith, but faith followeth the election, as it is written: And there believed as many as were ordained unto everlasting life; for they that are chosen from the beginning, are, no doubt, chosen before they had faith. We ought not, therefore, to

Rash judgment in mystical matters not lawful. give such unadvised judgment on these children, which, by their age, have not yet heard our faith, seeing God's election is hid from our eyes.

Israelites, God's peculiar people. The children of Israel were a people which God had chosen from among all nations of the world, and gave them circumcision for a token and memorial of that elec-

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tion, which circumcision was a figure of our baptism, and they thought that the Gentiles, which were not carnally circumcised, had been all condemned. But their opinion deceived them, for there were also of the Gentiles, which, although they were not circumcised outwardly, were elect of God, and were spiritually circumcised, which only is the thing that God regardeth, as Paul testifieth, saying, He is not a Jew which is a Jew outward, neither is that circumcision any thing, which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is hid within the circumcision of the heart, which is the cutting off of carnal desires, and is the true circumcision. This circumcision was in price with God, with the which the Gentiles (as Job) were circumcised. And in like manner may we say of our baptism, he is not a Christian man which is washed with water, neither is that baptism which is outward in the flesh; but that is the very baptism which God alloweth, to be baptized spiritually in the heart, that is, to subdue and weed out the branches of sin, that it reign not in your mortal bodies, and bring them into bondage under it; of the which our baptism is but a sign. And there are many, I doubt not, which are thus spiritually baptized, although their bodies touch no water, as there were Gentiles thus spiritually circumcised, and yet never cut off the foreskin of their privy members.

Sacraments, and figures thereof, grossly understood, breed errors.

Rom. ii.

Furthermore, the children of the uncircumcision are of the people and congregation of God, as well as the children of the Hebrews under the law were members of their congregation. I take the congregation of God in this place even somewhat largely, that is, for all them that are thought or counted to be the members of Christ, as it is taken, (Matt. xiii.) where Christ compareth it unto a net which receiveth both good fish and evil: and again, (Matt. xxv.) where he likeneth the kingdom of heaven, that is to say, the congregation of God, unto ten virgins, of the which five were wise and five foolish.

God's church largely taken, what it is.

Matt. xiii.

Matt. xxv.

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God's elect church is without spot, and only known to God.

But I speak not in this place of the elect sanctified and invisible congregation, which is without spot and wrinkle, and only known unto God, which hath chosen her before the foundations of the world were laid. Neither is it to be esteemed, but that God is as merciful unto us, which are of the spiritual Israel, as he was unto the carnal Israel. St. John, St. Paul, and such other, were they not being infants of the congregation of God, elect in Christ Jesus before the creation of the world? howbeit, in their infancy they neither had faith, nor yet knew any thing of this election. Matthew, Zaccheus, the thief, and Mary Magdalen, were they not likewise so chosen? yet they themselves knew it not until they were lightened of the Holy Ghost, and drawn unto Christ by our heavenly Father; neither knoweth any man of another's election, but every man may know his own through his faith and will that he hath to fulfil the law of God. Of this sensible congregation of Christ was Judas, yea, and all the other which after forsook Christ; neither wist the apostles but that Judas had been of the elect, sanctified, and invisible congregation of Christ, as well as Peter or John: so that our judgment recounteth all faithful and chosen, that seem to be; but Christ knoweth them that are his, and them that shall forsake him.

Man is uncertain of his election until the Holy Ghost working in him assure him thereof.

Good and bad are of the sensible church.

Now is there an opinion risen among certain, which affirm that children may not be baptized until they come unto a perfect age, and that because they have no faith; but verily, methinketh that they are far from the meekness of Christ and his Spirit, which, when children were brought unto him, received them lovingly, and embraced them in his arms, (Matt. ix.) and when his disciples blamed the bringers, he called them unto him, saying, Suffer children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven. (Luke xviii.) And albeit, they have no faith, but are only of that invisible congregation, that is without spot or

Matt. ix.

Luke xviii.

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wrinkle; yet, as I have said, they have a promise, as well as the children of the Hebrews, by the which they are of the visible congregation, which thing only is testified in their baptism. So it appeareth, that these men are ignorant what baptism is; for our baptism doth not testify that we are of that pure congregation, which was chosen and sanctified in Christ before the world began, which have their names written in the book of life, of the which it is not possible that one should perish; for then were it a false testimony, seeing many which are baptized, fall afterward into perilous heresies, and utter desperation, which bringeth them unto death everlasting. And as for faith, if they have none when they are baptized, let them pray unto God to give it them afterward; for the lack of faith hurteth not the sacrament, but the sacrament may be as well ministered unto a miscreant as to a faithful, if he say that he hath faith, or have any promise of God. But this matter will I pass over; for I trust the English (unto whom I write this) have no such opinions.

Infants may be baptized, because they be partakers of the promise, although they as yet have no faith.

Now will I proceed with the second point of this sacrament, which is the signification. The signification of baptism is described of Paul in the sixth of the Romans: that, as we are plunged bodily into the water, even so we are dead and buried with Christ from sin: and as we are lifted again out of the water, even so are we risen with Christ from our sins, that we might hereafter walk in a new conversation of life. So that these two things, that is, to be plunged in the water, and lift up again, do signify and represent the whole pith and effect of baptism, that is, the mortification of our old Adam, and the rising up of our new man. What is the old Adam? Verily, even that by natural inheritance is planted through Adam's fall in us, as to be unfaithful, angry, envious, covetous, slothful, proud, and ungodly: these, and such other uses, wherewith our nature is venomed, ought we with all diligence to cut

The second thing to be considered in baptism.

Rom. vi.

Dipping in the water, and lifting up again of infants, what it signifieth.

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off and mortify, that we may daily be more patient, liberal, and merciful, according to that our baptism doth signify; insomuch that a Christian man's life is nothing else save a continual baptism, which is begun when we are dipped in the water, and is put in continual use and exercise as long as the infection of sin remaineth in our bodies, which is never utterly vanquished until the hour of death; and there is the great Goliath slain with his own sword, that is, death, which is the power of sin, and the gate of everlasting life opened unto us. And thus is Paul to be understood (Gal. iii.) where he saith, All ye that are baptized into Christ, have put Christ on you; that is, you have promised to die with Christ as touching your sins and worldly desires past, and to become new men, or creatures, or members of Christ. This have we all promised unto the congregation, and it is represented in our baptism. But alas! there are but few which indeed fulfil that they promise, or rather that the sacrament promiseth for them. And for this cause it is called of Paul the fountain of the new birth and regeneration, (Tit. iii.) because it signifieth that we will indeed renounce and utterly forsake our old life, and purge our members from the works of iniquity through the virtue of the Holy Ghost, which, as the water or fire doth cleanse the body, even so doth it purify the heart from all uncleanness: yea, it is a common phrase in Scripture to call the Holy Ghost water and fire, because these two elements express so lively his purging operation.

The whole course of man's life is a continual baptism.

Gal. iii.

Tit. iii.

Baptism is the fountain of our new birth.

Now have we expounded the signification of baptism, which signification we may obtain only by faith; for if thou be baptized a thousand times with water, and have no faith, it availeth thee no more towards God, than it doth a goose when she ducketh herself under the water. Therefore, if thou wilt obtain the profit of baptism, thou must have faith, that is, thou must be surely

The signification of baptism, that is to say, banishing the old man, and putting on the new, acquired only by faith.

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persuaded that thou art newly born again, not by water only, but by water and the Holy Ghost, (John iii.) and thou art become the child of God, and that thy sins are not imputed to thee, but forgiven through the blood and passion of Christ, according unto the promise of God. This faith have neither the devils, neither yet the wicked; for the wicked cannot believe the remission of their sins, but fall into utter desperation, and make God a liar as much as in them is; for they believe not the testimony which he gave [of] his Son, and this is that testimony, that all which believe on him have everlasting life. (John v.) And the devils cannot believe it, for they have no promise made unto them. Thus, through Christ's blood, whereof our baptism hath his full strength and vigour, are we regenerate and made at one with the Father; for by our first natural birth we are the children of wrath, (Ephes. ii) and the enemies of God. (Rom. v.)

John iii.

The wicked distrusting in God's promises despair.

John v.

Christ's blood is the strength of our baptism.

Rom. v.

Finally, baptism is an ordinance institute of God, and no practice of man's imagination, put in use in Christ's time, and after his resurrection commanded to be ministered unto all that believe, whether they were Jews or Gentiles; for Christ saith to his apostles, Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: wherefore, although it seem never so exterior a thing, yet ought it to be had in great price and much reverence, because it was commanded of God to be done. Besides that it is an outward figure or witness unto the congregation, of the invisible promise given before by grace unto every private man, and by it doth the congregation receive him openly, to be counted one of them, which was first received by faith, or through the grace of the promise; it putteth us also in remembrance that we (advertising the kindness of God, and our promise in baptism,) may learn to die and mortify our rebelling members; otherwise giveth it no grace, neither hath it

Matthew the last.

Matt. xxviii.

Causes why the Sacrament of baptism should be had in great reverence.

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any secret virtue, as we have sufficiently proved; and therefore is he sore to blame, that so unadvisedly condemneth these infants, judging his brother which is in God's hand, yea and peradventure baptized in Christ's blood, for God's election is unknown to man.

Now will I endeavour myself to overthrow and utterly put out the second error, which hath long reigned and seduced many; and that is, of them which so strongly stick unto the weak ceremonies. Concerning the ceremonies of baptism, yea, and all other, we must behave ourselves wisely, as charity teacheth us, seeking the profit of many, that they may be saved. We must consider, that we have our conversation with men in this world, of the which the most part know not God. Some are young, some weak, some perverse, and some stiff-necked, and obdurate unto the using of ceremonies, which, although they be not noisome unto the faith, nor contrary to the word of God, yet will it be hard to find such. They are good and expedient (as milk) to lead the young tenderly into the more perfect knowledge of God. The second sort are the weak, unto whom, in all things, it behoveth us to have respect, and bear their infirmities by charity; for their sake (Acts xv.) did Paul circumcise Timothy, yea, and for their sake he had lever to captive his liberty, and never eat flesh, nor drink wine, than to offend one of them. The third kind of men are perfect,—I mean not so perfect that they are clean without sin, having no remnants of old Adam assailing them, for such are there none, but only Christ; but I call them perfect, which have perfect knowledge in the use of things, which know that whatsoever entereth into the belly defileth not the man, which know that all such things be pure unto them that are pure, (Tit. i.) which know, that if we eat, we are nothing the better, or if we eat not, we are nothing the worse; (1 Cor. viii.) these are free between God and their conscience, and may use

Sundry sorts of men which we have conversation withal diversely affected.

Ceremonies of some sorts are as guides unto the knowledge of God.

Acts xv.

The perfection of man.

Matt. xv.

Tit. i.

1 Cor. viii.

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all things: howbeit they are yet bound as concerning their neighbour which is weak, and hath not the knowledge, yea, bound, under the pain of sin, to abstain from wounding of their conscience; for he sinneth against God that woundeth another man's conscience. (1 Cor. viii.) The fourth kind are self-willed and obstinate, which put confidence in such indifferent things. For I think them not needful unto our salvation. Them ought we to resist in the face, and not to yield an inch unto them; as Paul giveth us example, which would not for their pleasure circumcise Titus, but utterly resisted their obdurate ignorance. If thou make this division, thou shalt know how to behave thyself towards all men, but now it is meet that we show thee which are the ceremonies of baptism.

Weak consciences, either by breaking of any ancient custom, or neglecting ceremonies not to be offended.

1 Cor. viii.

The obstinate which put trust in things not needful to salvation, must be resisted.

The ceremonies of baptism are easily expressed, if thou know what the substance of it is, and how the apostles ministered it; and where may we have that better expressed than Acts viii., viz. where Philip baptized the Eunuch, chamberlain to the Queen of Candace? This Eunuch did acknowledge that Jesus was the son of God, which is the sign of our faith, and desired baptism; and Philip, at the next water they came to, washed him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. There will no man deny but that that baptism was as full and as good as ours; and yet was there neither font nor holy water, candle, cream, oil, salt, godfather, or godmothers, or any other popery. Wherefore we may conclude, that all these things are but ceremonies, that is to say, exterior things, which make baptism neither the better nor worse of a mite. Thus say I, not to have these ceremonies that want judgment disannulled, which are not noisome to our faith, for fear of offending the weak, but only that thou mayest know how to use them as indifferent, and to put no confidence in them. For then should they hurt and unquiet our conscience, if, through negligence, or otherwise, any thing were undone; and so should they be an

Acts viii

Philip the Apostle used not so many outward ceremonies in baptism as papists do.

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occasion to pluck us from Christ, which were institute for a means to bring us unto him. Therefore, the seniors and ministers of the congregations ought to instruct their flocks to take these things indifferent, which neither save nor damn, whether they be done or undone. And if they perceive the people cleave too sore to them, then ought they to seek out a time convenient, and to abrogate and alter those ceremonies, or else they cannot escape the wrath of God. For they that seek health in such ceremonies, are fallen from grace, and tread under their foot the blood of Christ, unto their condemnation. But their blood shall be required at your hands, which better should have instructed them. And as concerning the abrogation, or alteration of ceremonies, we have a godly example of the Sabbath. The Sabbath was instituted and commanded of God to be kept of the children of Israel. Notwithstanding, because it was a sign or a ceremony, and did signify unto them that it was God which sanctified them with his Spirit, and not themselves with their holy works; and because, also, that all ceremonies and shadows ceased when Christ came, so that they might be done or left undone indifferently; our forefathers, which were in the beginning of the church, did abrogate the Sabbath, to the intent that men might have an example of Christ's liberty, and that they might know that neither the keeping of the Sabbath, nor of any other day, is necessary, according to Paul, Ye observe days, times, and months, I am afraid of you that I have laboured in vain towards you. Howbeit, because it was necessary that a day should be reserved, in the which the people might come together to hear the word of God, they ordained in the stead of the Sabbath, which was Saturday, the next day following, which is Sunday. And although they might have kept the Saturday with the Jews, as a thing indifferent, yet did they much better to overset the day, to be a perpetual memory that we are free and not bound

Ministers must be circumspect in the uses and abuses of ceremonies.

Ez. xxxiii.

Exod. xx. Deut. v.

Exod. xxxi.

Sabbath abrogated for fear of superstition.

Gal. iv.

Sabbath kept on the Sunday.

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to any day, but that we may do all lawful works to the pleasure of God, and profit of our neighbour. We are in manner as superstitious in the Sunday as they were in the Saturday, yea, and we are much madder. For the Jews have the word of God for their Saturday, since it is the seventh day, and they were commanded to keep the seventh day solemn; and we have not the word of God for us, but rather against us, for we keep not the seventh day as the Jews do, but the first, which is not commanded by God's law. But Paul addeth, That no man judge us as concerning holy days, meats, and such other exterior things; yea, and in no wise will he that we observe them, counting them more holy than other days. For they were institute that the people should come together to hear God's word, receive the sacraments, and give God thanks. That done, they may return unto their houses, and do their business as well as any other day. He that thinketh that a man sinneth which worketh on the holy day, if he be weak or ignorant, ought better to be instructed, and so to leave his hold. But if he be obstinate, and persevere in his sentence, he is not of God, but of the devil, for he maketh sin in such as God leaveth free. According to this example would I that our ceremonies were altered, because (as I have said) the people seek health in them: and what villany can they do more to Christ's blood?

Col. ii.

And as concerning godfathers and godmothers, they promise for their godchildren that they shall mortify the root of sin which springeth in their bodies, and subdue their lusts under the law of God. They promise also that they will instruct and bring up their godchildren in the faith of Christ; which office pertaineth unto their parents, for they are commanded of God to teach their children; so that the parent should be either alone, or at least the chiefest godfathers. But now-a-days the fathers may not be suffered to know any thing themselves: how should they then instruct their

Exod. xiii. Deut. iv. and v.

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children? They keep the Scriptures and word of God from you, and bear you in hand that it is heresy. Alas! how long will you lack understanding? and perceive you not yet, that they would keep you in darkness, because you should not espy their privy practice, and sleighty conveyance? Are you so mad [to think] that this blessed word, which made the evil good, will make the good evil? think you that this wholesome medicine, which healeth all infirmities, is now changed into such a nature that it will poison you? Are ye so simple and childish to surmise that this godly doctrine, which discloseth all hypocrisy, and confoundeth all heresies, should make you to err, and fall into heresies? I pray God give you eyes to see, ears to hear, and open your hearts that you may perceive what his pleasure is. For surely ignorance shall not excuse you; as Ezekiel, speaking in the person of God, saith unto the curates: Thou son of man, I have made thee an overseer unto the house of Israel, thou shalt hear the word of my mouth, and shalt show it them from me. If I say unto the wicked, thou shalt surely die, and thou show him not, nor exhort him to turn from his wicked way that he may live; then he shall die in his wickedness, but I will require his blood at thy hand. Yea, and if the righteous turn from his righteousness, and do iniquity, he shall die; although thou show it him not, he shall die in his sin, but I will require his blood at thy hand. Take heed, you curates, unto your charge, and let no man excuse himself through ignorance.

Ezek. xxxiii.

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ANTITHESIS,

WHEREIN ARE COMPARED TOGETHER

CHRIST'S ACTS AND THE POPE'S,

GATHERED BY

JOHN FRITH,

AND ANNEXED UNTO THE REVELATION OF ANTICHRIST,
WHICH HE TRANSLATED, 1529.

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WE have annexed, Christian Reader, unto the end of the Revelation, a little treatise, after the manner of an epitome, and short rehearsal of all things that are examined more diligently in the aforesaid book, wherein their false and cloaked hypocrisy is abundantly opened, by the comparing of Christ's acts and theirs together; for Christ's rule cannot be deceivable, which saith, that we should know them by their works; for Paul saith, that such false apostles are wicked workers, which be transfigured into Christ's apostles. And no marvel, for Satan himself is sometimes transfigured into an angel of light; therefore it is no great thing if that his ministers do take upon them a similitude, as though they were the ministers of justice, whose end shall be according to their works. Christian men should mark such, and fly away from them, for such serve not Christ, but their own bellies, and by sweet preachings and flattering words deceive the hearts of the innocents. And even as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, even so these resist the truth. Men they are of corrupt minds, and lewd as concerning the faith; but they shall prevail no longer, for their madness shall be uttered unto all men,

Matt. vii.

2 Cor. xi.

2 Tim. iii.

Exod. ii.

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as theirs was. Thus the people be blinded, falling into unbelief, and are deceived through the sleighty conveyance of Antichrist and his adherents. Saint John said, that there were many antichrists in his time; no wonder if now be more: howbeit by their works they shall be known, and also by their words, for they shall contrary Christ both in life and learning, whom they profess to follow. Now let us consider popes, cardinals, bishops, suffragans, archdeacons, deacons, officials, parsons, abbots, with deans, and friars, sumners, pardoners, and these papal notaries, take heed to monks, canons, anchors, hermits, nuns, and sisters, and mark how they follow Christ. We will chiefly touch the head, which is the Pope, although it may be verified through all his members.

John iv.

Matt. viii. 1. CHRIST was poor, saying, The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not whereon to lay his head.

The Pope and his adherents are rich, for the Pope saith, Rome is mine, Sicilia is mine, Corsica is mine, &c. And his adherents have also fruitful possessions, this every man knoweth.

John vi. 2. Christ was meek and low, and forsook this worldly
John vi. glory, and fled alone unto the mountains, when the peo-
John xvii. ple would have made him a king, saying, My kingdom is not of this world.

The Pope is full high and proud, saying, I am a Lord of both the realms, earthly and heavenly, and the emperor is my subject: this witnesseth his law. *Dist.* 96. *ca. Si imperator.*

John xiii. 3. Christ full lowly and meekly washed his disciples' feet.

The Pope saith, the emperors and kings shall kneel and kiss my feet, and is not ashamed to express it in the law. *ca. Cum olim de privil. elec.*

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4. Christ came not to be served, but to serve, taking upon him the similitude of a servant; humbling himself, and made himself of no reputation to serve us. Luke xxii. Phil. ii.

The Pope will be served, and saith, it were a shame if he should so humble himself. *Dist.* 86. *ca. Quando necessitas.*

5. Christ went on his feet with his disciples, both in wet and dry, heat and cold, to teach the people, as it is evident through the Gospels.

The Pope and bishops will keep their feet full clean with shoes of gold and silver, set with precious stones, and will not preach themselves, but say it is sufficient to cause others to preach. *ca. Inter ceteram de offic. Iv. or.* After this manner might the Turk be Pope also.

6. Christ would not suffer that doves, sheep, and oxen, for the offering, should be sold in the temple of God, but drove out the buyers and sellers with whips. Matt. xxi.

The Pope and bishops suffer chapmen in the church, that minister the sacraments for money daily unto the common people. And they give great pardon unto it, that they may be partakers of the winning, to maintain their cradles and other necessaries withal: this may you see daily.

7. Christ saith, ye have it for nothing, therefore shall ye give it for nothing. Matt. x.

The Pope hath Judas's mind, for you get nothing of him without money, for he selleth both prayer and preaching.

8. Christ sat at meat among his disciples full lowly and poorly, not requiring the highest seat. Luke xxii.

The Pope sitteth full high in a curious throne, and will be served gloriously, with long kneeling, and men to carve his morsels, with jagged coats, blaspheming God with oaths, and many other vices, as we may see daily.

9. Christ was in hills with weeping and praying, and Matt. xiv. and xv.

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walked in deserts, feeding many thousands both with meat and preaching.

The Pope sitteth in his castles and towers with minstrelsy and laughter, and the hungry poor shall sit at the gate; he will not serve them himself, for shame he thinketh it were.

Matt. viii. 10. Christ lay and slept in a boat on the hard boards, and had to his chamberlains but fishers, crying to him upon the sea in the tempest, when they were afraid to perish.

The Pope sleepeth full soft and easily, and no man may awake him until he have slept enough; for his chamberlains shall be ready with marshals and others to keep his hall and chamber from noise; and the porter at the gate to keep out the poor: their Lord they will not awake.

Matt. xxi. 11. Christ fasted, and sought the fruit on the tree when he was hungry, and found none thereon.

The Pope hath great provision at cities and towns to get him of the best that may be found, well dressed, and daintily, to make digestion, with spices, sauces, and syrups, coloured out of kind.

Luke ii. 12. Christ lay in a stable with a few clothes, betwixt an ox and an ass, for the place was narrow.

The Pope, in rich chambers, with quilts, curtains, carpets, and cushions, spread all about, with sweet smells, and painted walls.

Matt. xi. 13. Christ chose to him poor men, and commanded them to be simple as doves.

The Pope chooseth subtle men and crafty, full of pride, or else they are not meet for him.

Matt. xxi. 14. Christ rode simply on an ass, and had twelve that followed him on foot all about.

The Pope on a mule, or a white palfrey, much higher than his master did; and hath many more than twelve following him on horseback, with swords and bucklers, as it were to battle.

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15. Christ bade his disciples to go into all the world, and to preach the gospel to every creature. Mark xvi.

The Pope and his bishops forbid it, on the pain of disobedience and excommunication, save only such as they will assign.

16. Christ was naked, beaten, scourged, and false witness brought against him. John xix.

The Pope and his adherents are well clothed with precious garments, and have change for each day; and false witness they have enough, not against them, but to testify with them whatsoever they will have against the innocents.

17. Christ came to seek the poor and comfort them; he was not chargeful unto them, but was mild, and had pity on them.

The Pope and bishops summon and cite them, be they never so poor, not regarding their adversity, but curse if they come not. So that they go away sorrier and sicker in soul and in purse than they were before.

18. Christ commanded that we should not swear at all, neither by heaven, neither by the temple, &c. but that our words should be, yea, yea, nay, nay. Matt. v.

The Pope saith, if any man will receive any office under us, he shall be sworn before, yea, and give a great sum of money. *ca. Signifi. de elect.*

19. Christ had a crown of thorns thrust upon his head, so that the blood ran down upon his amiable countenance, and sharp nails through his precious hands. John xix.

The Pope must wear three crowns of gold, set with rich precious stones; he lacketh no diadems; his hands and fingers with ouches and rings are royally decked: he passeth poor Christ far. *ca. Constat. Dist. xcvi.*

20. Christ took the cross of painful affliction upon himself, and commanded his disciples to follow him, saying, He that taketh not his cross and follow me, is not meet for me. Matt. x.

The Pope and his bishops take the cross of pride,

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and have it borne before them, well gilt and enamelled, to have a worship of this world; as for other cross, know they none.

Luke xxiii. 21. Christ prayed his Father to forgive them that trespassed against him, yea, and for them that put him to death.

Our bishops pray the King to be avenged on them that resist their minds; with forgiveness they have no acquaintance.

22. Christ bade his disciples to preach the gospel.

The Pope and his bishops will have men to preach fables, and then to grant letter and seal, and many days of pardon.

John xix. 23. Christ commanded his disciples to know his law, and bade the Jews to search the Scriptures; and Exod. xvi. Moses exhorted the Israelites to teach the law of God to their young children. And that they should have it bound as a sign in their hands, that it might ever be before their eyes; and caused them to write it on the posts and doors of their houses.

The Pope and his bishops say, that it is not meet for us to know it; they make it heresy and treason to the King to know Christ or his laws; they have digged cisterns of their own traditions, and have stopped up the pure fountains of Israel. Oh Lord, in whom is all our trust, come down from the heavens; why dost thou tarry so long, seeing thine adversary thus prevailing against thee?

Heb. ix. 24. Christ approved his law, and confirmed it with his own death.

The Pope and bishops be full busy how they may destroy it, and magnify more their own law than Christ's, to maintain their fat bellies.

Matt. xxv. 25. Christ would men visited prisoners, to comfort and deliver them.

The Pope, with his adherents, discomfort the poor and the true, and put them in prison for the truth.

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26. Christ, whom they call their example, did never prison nor persecute any.

The Pope and his champions persecute, punish, prison, and put to death, them that are disobedient to their voluptuous pleasures. Ye see how straight they follow Christ's steps.

27. Christ commanded his disciples, that if any man trespassed against them, they should go and reprove him privily; if he would not obey and be reconciled, then should they take with them one witness or twain; if he would not then hear them, that they should tell it to the whole congregation; and if he would still continue in his stubbornness, that they should avoid his company. Matt. xviii.

The Pope and bishops will cast straight into prison, there to remain in irons, to make them revoke the truth, and grant to their wills; and if he be strong and will not forsake the truth, they will condemn him without audience, for fear of losing of their temporal winning, and offering to their wombs, and taking away of their temporalities, wherewith the church is venomed.

28. Christ charged Peter thrice to keep well and nourish his sheep. John xxi.

The Pope chargeth much more to keep well his money. As for the sheep, he sheareth and punisheth with infinite exactions.

29. Christ healing the sick, and doing many miracles, did lightly ever command that they should tell no man who did heal them. Matt. viii. Mark i. Luke v.

The Pope and bishops give great gifts to minstrels and messengers, to lewd liars and flatterers, to cry their name about, that they may have worship in this world.

30. Christ had no secular courts to plead the matters of his disciples, for they would not resist evil. Matt. v.

The Pope and bishops have many, with men of law to oppress the poor against mercy; forgive they will not, but ever be avenged.

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Matt. viii. and xvii. 31. Christ, in cities and towns, hunted the fiends out of men that they dwelled in with the words of his mouth.

The Pope and bishops hunt the wild deer, the fox, and the hare, in their closed parks, with great cries, and horns blowing, with hounds and ratches running.

John xxii. 32. God was called the Holy Father of Jesus Christ his Son.

The Pope is called Most Holy Father of Satan's children, and taketh that name on him with Lucifer's pride: his disciples say that he is God on earth, and we are taught by Christ's law to have but one God.

Luke ii. 33. Christ sate in the midst of the Doctors, asking and hearing them.

The Pope and bishops sit in thrones with glorious mitres, judging and condemning by their own made laws, a little matter long in pleading, which might be soon determined by the law of God, if they would use it, but then were their winning the less, and their law without profit.

Matt. v. 34. Christ taught that a man should forsake his wife for no cause but for advoutry.

The Pope and bishops will make divorces for money as often as they list; and so they pillage the poor and make themselves rich, nothing regarding to break the law of God.

Acts ii. 35. Christ sent the Holy Ghost in fervent love to teach all the truth unto them which were chosen of God.

The Pope and bishops send commandments all about to curse and ask vengeance on them that resist their tyranny, and absolve them again clean for money; all their doctrines have golden tails, for money is ever the end; give them money, and you have fulfilled all their laws.

Matt. iii. 36. Christ fulfilled and kept the old law and the new, and all righteousness.

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The Pope and bishops keep their own traditions and laws, but the law of God is clean out of their minds.

37. Christ said, that men should know his disciples by their charity, because they should love one another as he hath loved them. John xii.

The Pope causeth his to be known by their shaven crowns; by gathering up of tithes, mass-pence, and offerings; by the golden trentals, and salaries to sing; by Peter-pence gathering, and striving for money; by penny-wedding, and holy water sprinkling, and many more marks hath he given them: as for charity, they know it not at all.

38. Christ bade them that he healed to go and sin no more. John ix.

The Pope and bishops have feigned penance, and command men to fast bread and water, to go barefoot, without a shirt, and to offer to certain idols money, or cattle. Some masses must be sung for them because their confessors should have some profit. Some must go about the church and churchyard with a taper burning in his hand; and ever some be punished by the purse, though they offend not.

39. Christ sent to preach seventy and two disciples, which promised freely heaven to them that would believe in the name of Christ. Luke x.

The Pope and bishops send about four sects of beggars to give pardon unto their master Antichrist, and to sell heaven to whomsoever they list: the apostles knew no such things.

40. Christ was buried in a garden, in a poor monument, without any funeral pomp. John xix.

The Pope and bishops are buried in tombs well gilt, with many a torch, and great solemnity, with angels gloriously pourtrayed, that bear their souls to heaven. Notwithstanding, it is to be feared that they go to supper with the devil.

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Matt. xix. 41. Christ saith, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all thy goods and give it unto the poor, for then shalt thou have treasure in heaven.

The Pope saith, If thou wilt be perfect, give me thy money; and I will give thee a pardon that shall absolve thee clean *à pœna et culpa;* I will for thy money give thee the key of heaven gates.

Luke xxii. 42. Christ said unto his apostles, The kings and princes of the Gentiles have rule and power over them, but you shall not so have.

The Pope saith, All emperors, kings, and lords be my subjects. This is daily read in his bulls, wherein he commandeth the nobility, like as a master doth his servant.

Matt. xxiii. Mark ix. 43. Christ saith, He that among you will be greatest, let him be all your servants.

The Pope saith, The emperor must swear an oath unto me as unto his Lord, that he will be my subject, and exalt and worship me with honour. *ca. Tibi Domino. Dist.* 63.

Matt. xv. 44. Christ saith, that we worship him in vain with men's doctrines and traditions.

The Pope saith, My traditions in the spiritual law, shall be kept as duly as if God had commanded it himself, or St. Peter had preached it himself. *ca. Si omnes. Dist.* 19.

John xiv. 45. Christ saith, I am the way, and the truth; follow me in my learning. And rule you by the Scripture, for that shall be your judge.

The Pope saith, Ye shall in all things follow the Church of Rome, (by that meaneth he himself, and his cardinals,) *Dist. xi. ca. Quis nesciat.* And as for the Scripture, it standeth in my power and authority, for I may make of it whatsoever I will. *Dist. xix. ca. Si Romanorum.*

Mark xi. 46. Christ saith, He that believeth and is baptized, he shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned.

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The Pope saith, He that giveth much money for my pardon shall be absolved *à pœna et à culpa*, and then must he needs be saved; and he that teacheth otherwise is an heretic: this testifieth his bulls and pardons.

47. Christ promiseth forgiveness of sin, and the kingdom of heaven, unto them that repent and will amend their lives. Matt. iv.

The Pope saith, that no man can be saved, except he be first shriven of his priest and friars; for they bring in money. *ca. Omnes.*

48. Christ saith, You shall love your enemies, and shall do good unto them that hate you. Matt. v.

The Pope saith, They that be enemies to me and my cardinals be cursed with the great excommunication, and cannot be absolved without much money; this is evident enough.

49. Christ commanded his disciples not to resist evil, but if a man strike them on the one cheek, that they should offer him the other also. Matt. xvii.

The Pope saith, We may avenge and drive away force with force. *De sen. excom. ca. Dilecto.*

50. Christ, saith God the Father, is my dear son, him shall you hear, for his yoke is sweet, and his burden light. Matt. xi.

The Pope saith, You shall hear me, and my commandment shall be kept and received of every man. *Dist.* 93. *ca. Si cujus.* And if my commandment and burthen were so heavy that it cannot well be sustained and borne, yet shall ye obey me. *Dist.* 19. *ca. In memoriam.*

51. Christ said unto the two brethren, Who hath set me to be your judge in temporal goods? as though he should say, It pertaineth not to me, but unto worldly judges. Luke xii.

The Pope saith, I am judge in all manner of causes, for they bring money unto me. 9. *q.* 3. *Conquestus.*

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Matt. xxii. 52. Christ saith, Give the emperor such as pertaineth
Matt. xvii. unto him as tribute and custom, for I have paid toll for me and Peter.

The Pope saith, I care not for this, but I excommunicate all them that ask any toll or tribute of me and my shavelings, for I have made them all free. *ca. Novit. de senten. excom. et ca. Si quis de cons. Dist. i.*

Matt. xxvi. 53. Christ saith, Peter, put up thy sword into the sheath, for he that striketh with sword, shall perish with the sword.

The Pope saith, You emperors, kings, princes, and lords, take swords, spears, halberds, clubs, and guns, and help me to slay them that will not obey my tyranny. This must an emperor do, or else he must be perjured. After this manner hath Julius the Pope slain sixteen thousand men in one day: was not that well pastored? Did not he well nourish the sheep which Christ did commit unto his tuition?

Matt. xxvi. 54. Christ said, Drink you all of this cup, for this is the blood of my promise.

The Pope saith, I will not grant this, for my priests alone shall drink of it, because it may cry vengeance on them alone, the other shall not drink of it in the pain of heresy.

John xv. 55. Christ saith, Ye are my friends if ye do all things that I myself command you.

The Pope saith, You shall do as I bid you, for I have power and authority to make laws, and after them shall you live. 25 *q. i. ca. Sunt quidam.*

Matt. xix. 56. Christ saith, that chastity is not given unto every man; they that have it given, let them take it, giving thanks to God; and let the other use the remedy which
1 Cor. vii. God hath prepared; for it is better to marry than to burn.

The Pope saith, All monks, friars, and nuns, shall vow and swear chastity, be it given them or not; my priests also shall not be wedded; but as for to keep whores,

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and ravish other men's daughters and wives, shall be dispensed withal. I will see no such things; for my bishops have yearly great money by it, like as bawds be wont to have.

57. Christ saith, All meats that man taketh with thanks staineth not the soul; for all things are pure to them that are pure. Matt. xv. Rom. xiv. Col. ii. Tit. i.

The Pope saith, He that eateth eggs, butter, or flesh, in these days that I have commanded to be fasted, doth not only stain his soul with sin, but also is to be denounced an heretic. *Dist.* 4. *ca. Statuimus.* This agreeth with Christ even as the light doth with the darkness. And yet have we been thus blinded long, that we could never perceive this Antichrist till now in the last days.

58. Christ said unto his disciples, That you bind in earth, shall be bound to you in heaven, and that you loose in earth, shall be loosed in heaven. Matt. xvi. Matt. xviii. John v.

The Pope challengeth greater authority; for he will loose souls out of purgatory, and command the angels to fetch them out, and all for money; without money you get nothing.

59. Christ saith, When you have done all things that I have commanded you, yet say that you are unprofitable servants. Luke xvii.

The Pope saith, Do these things that I command thee, and take a sure conscience unto thee that thou art a just and a religious man, and that thou hast deserved heaven. And as for I myself, if I do wrong in every thing, and bring many thousands with me into damnation, yet shall no man rebuke me, but call me the most holiest father. *Dist.* 40. *ca. Si Papa.* Oh, abomination!

60. Christ teacheth us to fulfil the works of mercy to the poor, ever commending mercy above offerings and sacrifice. Matt. xvi. Hosea vi. Matt. ix.

The Pope teacheth us to give our money for pardons, masses, diriges, to images and churches, so that

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we may offer unto their bellies. And he that saith it is better to give our charity to the poor, as Christ saith, is counted half an heretic, because he goeth about to marr the Pope's market.

Rom. iv. John xi. 61. Christ suffered death for our sins, and arose for our justification, or else we all should have perished.

The Pope saith, If thou buy my pardon, or else be buried in a gray friar's coat, thou must needs be saved; so that Christ hath suffered in vain, since a friar's coat will save a man.

1 John ii. James v. 62. Christ only is our mediator, which maketh unity betwixt his Father and us; howbeit the prayer of a just man is very good and profitable.

The Pope saith, The greatest power and salvation next to Christ is mine. *Dist. ix. ca. Si Papa.* I marvel then why he is so curious to cause us to worship the saints that are asleep, and not rather himself, since he challengeth a greater power than ever they did while they lived.

Matt. v. 63. Christ saith, Whosoever break one of my least commandments, shall be called the least (that is to say none) in the kingdom of heaven.

The Pope saith, What pertaineth his law unto me? I am subject to no laws. 25 *q.* 1. *ca. Omnia.* Therefore doth the Pope but seldom right; and is always against right, yea, and against his own laws, as often as men do bring him money, for that loveth he above all things.

Rom. xiii. 64. Christ's law is fulfilled through charity.

The Pope's law is fulfilled by money; if thou have no money to give them, thou shalt carry a faggot, though thou offend not: money them, and they see thee not, do what thou wilt.

Ephes. i. Coloss. i. 1 Cor. x. 65. Christ is the head of the church, as the apostle doth testify; and also the stone whereon the church is builded. And this church is the congregation of the faithful, and the very body of Christ.

The Pope saith, I am the head of the church. *Dist.*

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19. *ca. Enim vero.* and the seat of Rome is the stone whereon the church is builded. *Dist.* 19. *Ita Dominus.* Can any thing be more contrary unto the honour and glory of God, than thus to despoil him of his kingdom, which he so dearly hath bought, shedding his precious blood for it?

66. Christ's law, which is the holy Scripture, came by the inspiring of the Holy Ghost, which did infuse it abundantly into the hearts of the apostles, and of the same Spirit hath it his endurance and interpretation. 2 Pet. ii. 2 Tim. iii.

The Pope saith, I am Lord of the Scripture to allow and disallow it, for of me doth it take his full authority. *ca. Si omnes.* And for a token of this, is the Scripture of Christ laid under his feet when he is at mass.

67. Christ's apostle saith, that a bishop ought to be so well learned, that he, with the Scripture, be able to overcome all them that be against the faith. Tit. i.

The Pope and bishops will dispute in Scripture with no man, but cast them first in prison; and proper engines they have invented to wring their fingers so sore that the blood shall burst out at their fingers ends; they pin them, and scourge them with infinite other torments, paining them to forsake the truth. And after, make them swear on a book that they shall tell no man of it: thus cruelly do they entreat them against justice. And if they cannot subdue them to their wills, then do they commit them unto the secular power to be burned.

68. Christ's accusation, and cause why he was condemned unto death, was written over his head in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, that all men might know the cause: this was an argument that they used justice, (although they condemned him unjustly,) since men might see the offence and judgment joined together. John xix.

The Pope and bishops condemn men, and commit them unto the secular power, that they should execute the sentence. But this is a mischievous abomination, that they will not suffer the secular power to know

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the cause why they put men to death, worshipful, dis divines, Master Doctor. Oh, you gentle nobility, ponder this matter indifferently. Beware how you do execution, except you know the cause why. Think you the blood shall not be required on you, if for another's pleasure you destroy the work of God? They will say unto you, as the Jews said unto Pilate concerning Christ, If he were not an evil doer, we would not have delivered him unto you. Trust not their words, for (no doubt) they are liars; know the cause yourselves, and hear the matter unfeignedly. Think you they would not let you know the cause and judgment, if they did justice and not tyrannize? Be, therefore, no longer boys to them, which ought to be your servants. God hath given you his Spirit, grace, and understanding; hide not the talent that God hath given you, but do your diligence to see justice executed, secluding all tyranny, for that is your office appointed you of God.

Luke vi. 69. Christ saith, Blessed are ye when men hate you, curse you, and excommunicate you for the righteousness,—that is to say, you nothing guilty, nor worthy such affliction.

The Pope and bishops say, that their curse is sore to be feared, yea and that it maketh men as black as a coal in the sight of God, though they have not offended; insomuch that they must needs be damned, except they absolve them again: howbeit Christ saith, that they are blessed; wherefore Christ is false, or else they are most vain liars.

Luke xiv. 70. Christ said, When thou makest a dinner or feast, call not thy friends, kinsmen, and neighbours that are rich, but the poor, lame, and blind, which are not able to recompense thee; then shalt thou be happy, for it shall be rewarded thee in the resurrection of the just.

The Pope and bishops will call none such, for they think it great shame, but they call men of great autho-

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rity and riches, which will receive them with another feast; they had lever have their bellies well stuffed in this world, than to tarry for the promise of Christ. They think it long a coming.

71. Christ saith, Either make the tree good, and his fruit good also, or else make the tree naught, and his fruit naught also: meaning, that the tree first should be good, and then bring forth good fruit; the fruit maketh not the tree good, but the tree maketh the fruit good; although we cannot know that the tree is good, but by his fruit, (for we can judge nothing but by his outward operation,) yet God seeth the quickness in the root, which, in the time that God hath appointed him, shall bring forth his fruit; and approveth the tree to be good, although he seem dead unto us. The tree is Faith, which is the mother of all good works, which ever worketh by charity when he seeth occasion. Matt. v. Luke vi.

The Pope and bishops say, that the fruit maketh the tree good, clean contrary to all Scripture and reason. And thus turn they the trees and the roots upward, while they affirm that faith springeth and is made good of works, and not the contrary; even as a man would say, the fruit bringeth forth and maketh good the tree, and not the contrary. Oh! what madness is this! They would make men believe, if they should long continue, that the moon is made of green cheese.

72. Christ saith, I am the door of the fold: he that entereth not in by the door, but by some other way, is a thief and a murderer, and regardeth not the sheep. John x.

The Pope, yea and all the clergy, (for the most part,) enter not in by Christ, but they run in and are not called nor sent of Christ. One entereth by a bag of money, wherewith he buyeth a fat benefice. Another entereth by serving great men, and currying favour. Another, because he is a great man born, must be made a cardinal, or else a bishop. Some have voisons of abbeys and other places, to speak a good word for them to

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the king or other great men. Some enter through their curious singing and minion dancing; few, or none, for virtue and learning.

John x. 73. Christ saith, I am a good shepherd; a good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep.

The Pope and bishops say also, that they are good shepherds; howbeit, they pill and shear the sheep so nigh, that they leave not one lock of wool on their backs. And in all points may be likened unto the shepherds that Zacharias prophesied of; which saith, I shall raise up a shepherd in the earth, which shall not visit the things that are forsaken, and shall not seek that which is gone astray, neither yet heal the diseased, nor nourish and maintain that which standeth; but such a shepherd that shall nourish himself and not the sheep: and cryeth out of him, saying, Oh! thou shepherd and idol, think you that this shepherd will give his life for the sheep?

Matt. xxiii. 74. Christ saith, Desire you not to be called Master, for you have but one master, which is Christ, and all you are brothers.

The Pope will be called Most Holy, his cardinals Most Reverend, his bishops Reverend, his abbots and priors Most, and other glorious titles have they that pass Master far; and except thou call them by those names and titles, thou shalt run far into their indignation, let Christ say what he will.

Matt. xxiii. 75. Christ commanded his disciples that they should call no man Father on the earth, showing them that they had but one Father, which is in heaven.

The Pope must be called Most Holy Father: if thou give him not that name, he will excommunicate you out of his synagogue: reason not with him; you may show him the Scripture, but it availeth not, for he will wrest it, and wring it into a thousand fashions, and will never leave it until he have brought it unto his own purpose.

Acts vii. 76. Christ's faithful servant Stephen said, that God Almighty dwelleth not in temples that are made with

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man's hands, according unto the prophet's saying, Heaven is my seat, and the earth is my footstool. What house will you build for me? saith the Lord; which is the place of my rest? did not my hands make all these things? Isa. lxxvi. 2 Kings vii.

The Pope and his adherents say, that he dwelleth in this place and that place; the friars say, We have him, you must buy him of us; the monks say, He is with us, be good to our monastery, and ye shall be sure to have him: and so run the silly fools from Herod to Pilate. But they find not Christ, for he dwelleth in no place, but in the heart of a faithful man, which is the very temple of God.

77. Christ's apostle Paul saith, We ought not to think that God is like gold, silver, carved stones, or any such thing as man imagineth. 1 Cor. iii. Acts xvii.

The Pope and his adherents say, that he is like a stock and a stone, and causeth men to make images of him, though God commanded contrary, saying, Thou shalt make no graven image, neither any manner of similitude of those things which are in heaven above, or on the earth beneath, neither of those things which are in the water, or under the earth, neither shalt thou honour or worship them. Good Christian, beware of these idols, as St. John counselleth thee. Truly I think it be one of the greatest causes of this excœcation which God hath sent into the world for sin. Exod. xx. John v.

78. Christ said unto Peter, Thou art Simon the son of Jonah, thou shalt be called Cephas, which, if it be interpreted, signifieth a stone: as St. John saith in his gospel. John i.

The Pope saith, that Cephas signifieth the head, *Dist. xxii. ca. Sacrosancta;* and of that gathereth he to be head of all the bishops. Here doth he plainly contrary to gospel, which expoundeth Cephas to be a stone. What impudency is this! I think he would say also, that an ass were a man, if he thought to get any advantage through it.

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There are infinite other things wherein he contrarieth Christ, inasmuch that, if it be diligently examined, I think there is no word that Christ spake, but the other hath taught or made a law against it. Howbeit, for to avoid tediousness, we shall leave them unto your own judgment, for they are soon searched out and espied. Judge, Christian Reader, all these things with a simple eye; be not partially addict to the one nor to the other, but judge them by the Scripture, and acknowledge that to be the truth which God's word doth allow, avoiding all other doctrine, for it springeth of Satan. Be not ashamed to confess poor Christ, and to take him for thy
Matt. x. head, before these ravenous wolves; for then shall he confess thee again before his Father, and the angels in heaven. Then shalt thou be inheritor with Jesus Christ, and the faithful son of thy Father which is in heaven, to whom be all glory eternally. Amen.

Here endeth the Antithesis between Christ and the Pope.

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A BOOK MADE BY JOHN FRITH,

PRISONER IN THE TOWER OF LONDON,

ANSWERING UNTO

M. MORE'S LETTER,

WHICH HE WROTE AGAINST THE FIRST LITTLE TREATISE THAT JOHN FRITH MADE CONCERNING

THE SACRAMENT OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST.

UNTO WHICH BOOK ARE ADDED IN THE END THE ARTICLES OF HIS EXAMINATION BEFORE THE BISHOPS OF LONDON, WINCHESTER, AND LINCOLN, IN PAUL'S CHURCH, AT LONDON, FOR WHICH JOHN FRITH WAS CONDEMNED, AND AFTER BURNED IN SMITHFIELD, WITHOUT NEWGATE, THE FOURTH DAY OF JULY, ANNO 1533.

"Dead men shall rise again."

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PREFACE.

GRACE and increase of knowledge from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with the Christian reader, and with all them that love the Lord unfeignedly. Amen.

I chanced, being in these parts, to be in company with a Christian brother, which for his commendable conversation, and sober behaviour, might better be a bishop than many that wear mitres, if the rule of St. Paul were regarded in their election. This brother, after much communication, desired to know my mind, as touching the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ. Which thing I opened unto him, according to the gift that God had given me. First, I proved unto him that it was no article of our faith necessary to be believed under pain of damnation. Then I declared, that Christ had a natural body, even as mine is, (saving sin,) and that it could no more be in two places at once than mine can. Thirdly, I showed him that it was not necessary that the words should so be understood as they sound, but that it might be a phrase of Scripture, as there are innumerable. After that, I showed him

1 Tim. iii. Tit. i.

The order that John Frith keepeth in showing his mind in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.

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certain phrases and manner of speakings, and that it was well used in our English tongue; and finally, I recited after what manner they might receive it according to Christ's institution, not fearing the froward alteration that the priests use contrary to the first form and institution.

The occasion that moved John Frith to write on the Sacrament.

When I had sufficiently published my mind, he desired me to entitle the sum of my words, and write them for him, because they seemed overlong to be well retained in memory. And, albeit I was loth to take the matter in hand, yet, to fulfil his instant intercession, I took upon me to touch this terrible tragedy, and wrote a treatise, which, besides my painful imprisonment, is like to purchase me most cruel death, which I am ready and glad to receive with the spirit and inward man, although the flesh be frail, whensoever it shall please God to lay it upon me. Notwithstanding, to say the truth, I wrote it not to the intent that it should have been published; for then I would have touched the matter more earnestly, and have written, as well of the spiritual eating and drinking, which is of necessity, as I did of the carnal, which is not so necessary. For the treatise that I made was not expedient for all men, albeit it were sufficient for them whom I took in hand to instruct. For they knew the spiritual and necessary eating and drinking of his body and blood, which is not received with the teeth and belly, but with the ears and faith, and only needed instruction in the outward eating, which thing I therefore only declared. But

The spiritual eating of the Sacrament is by faith.

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now it is come abroad, and in many men's mouths, insomuch that M. More, which of late hath busied himself to meddle in all such matters, (of what zeal I will not define,) hath sore laboured to confute it; but some men think that he is ashamed of his part, and for that cause doth so diligently suppress the work which he printed; for I myself saw the work in print in my Lord of Winchester's house, upon St. Stephen's day last past. But neither I, neither all the friends I could make, might attain any copy, but only one written copy, which, as it seemed, was drawn out in great haste. Notwithstanding, I cannot well judge what the cause should be that his book is kept so secret; but this I am right sure of, that he never touched the foundation that my treatise was builded upon. And, therefore, since my foundation standeth so sure and invincible, (for else, I think verily he would sore have laboured to have undermined it,) I will thereupon build a little more, and also declare that his ordnance is too slender to break it down, although it were set upon a worse foundation.

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A BOOK MADE BY JOHN FRITH,

ANSWERING UNTO

M. MORE'S LETTER.

The Sacrament to be the natural body of Christ, is no article of our faith necessary to be believed upon pain of damnation.

THE foundation of that little treatise was, that it is no article of our faith necessary to be believed under pain of damnation, that the sacrament should be the natural body of Christ; which thing is proved in this manner:

First, we must all acknowledge that it is no article of our faith which can save us, nor which we are bound to believe under the pain of eternal damnation. For if I should believe that his very natural body, both flesh and blood, were naturally in the bread and wine, that should not save me, seeing many believe that, and receive it to their damnation; for it is not his presence in the bread that can save me, but his presence in my heart, through faith in his blood, which hath washed out my sins, and pacified the Father's wrath towards me. And again, if I do not believe his bodily presence in the bread and wine, that shall not damn me, but the absence out of my heart through unbelief. Now, if they would here object, that though it be truth, that the absence out of the bread could not damn us, yet are we bound to believe it, because of God's word, which who believeth not, as much as in him lieth, maketh God a liar: and, therefore, of an obstinate mind not to believe his word, may be an occasion of damnation:—

Objection.

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To this we may answer, that we believe God's word, and acknowledge that it is true; but in this we dissent, whether it be true in the sense that we take it in, or in the sense that ye take it. And we say again, that though ye have (as it appeareth unto you,) the evident words of Christ, and, therefore, consist in the bark of the letter, yet are we compelled, by conferring of the Scriptures together within the letter, to search out the mind of our Saviour which spake the words. And we say, thirdly, that we do it not of an obstinate mind; for he that defendeth a cause obstinately, whether it be true or false, is ever to be reprehended. But we do it to satisfy our consciences, which are compelled by other places of Scripture, reasons, and doctors, so to judge of it. And even so ought you to judge of your part, and to defend your sentence, not of obstinacy, but by the reason of Scriptures, which cause you so take it. And so ought neither part to despise other, for each seeketh the glory of God, and the true understanding of the Scripture.

Solution.

Obstinate defending of any cause is worthy of reprehension.

The foundation of John Frith's first treatise upon the Sacrament.

This was the foundation of my first treatise, that he hath left unshaken, which is a great argument that it is very true; for else his pregnant wit could not have passed it so clean over, but would have assoiled it with some sophistical cavillation, which by his painted poetry he might so have coloured, that at the least he might make the ignorant some appearance of truth, as he hath done against the residue of my first treatise, which, nevertheless, is true, and shall so be proved.

And first, that it is none article of our faith necessary to be believed under pain of damnation, may thus be further confirmed. The same faith shall save us which saved the old fathers before Christ's incarnation; but they were not bound under pain of damnation to believe this point; therefore it shall follow that we are not bound thereto under the pain of damnation. The first part of mine argument is proved by St. Augustine,

It is no article of our faith to believe it to be the natural body of Christ.

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ad Durdanum, and I dare boldly say, almost in an hundred places; for I think there be no proposition which he doth more often inculcate than this, that the same faith saved us which saved our fathers. The second part is manifest, that it needeth no probation; for how could they believe the thing which was never said nor done, and without the word they could have no faith. Upon the truth of these two parts must the conclusion needs follow. Notwithstanding, they all did eat Christ's body and drank his blood spiritually, although they had him not present to their teeth: and by the spiritual eating (which is the faith in his body and blood) were saved as well as we are; for as soon as our forefather Adam had transgressed God's precept, and was fallen under condemnation, our most merciful Father, of his gracious favour, gave him the promise of health and comfort, whereby as many as believed it were saved from the thraldom of their transgression: the word and promise was this, I shall put enmity between thee and the woman, between thy seed and her seed; that seed shall tread thee on the head, and thou shalt tread it on the heel. In this promise they had knowledge that Christ should become the seed or son of a woman, and that he should destroy the devil with all his power, and deliver his faithful from their sins. And where he said that the devil should tread it on the heel, they understood right well that the devil should find the means, by his wiles and wicked ministers, to put Christ to death. And they knew that God was true, and would fulfil his promise unto them, and heartily longed after this seed, and so did both eat his body and drink his blood, acknowledging with infinite thanks that Christ should, for their sins, take the perfect nature of manhood upon him, and also suffer the death. This promise was given to Adam, and saved as many as did believe, and were thankful to God for his kindness; and

The same faith saveth us that saved our fathers.

Adam.

Gen. iii.

How our fathers did eat the body of Christ, and drank his blood.

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after, it was established unto our father Abraham, by the word of God, which said, In thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed. And with him God made a covenant that he would be his God, and do him good; and Abraham again promised to keep his precepts and walk in his ways. Then God gave him the sacrament of circumcision, and called that his covenant, which thing, notwithstanding, was not the very covenant indeed, although it were so called, but was only a sign, token, sacrament, or memorial of the covenant that was between God and him: which might expound our matter, if men had eyes to see. After that God promised him a son when his wife was past child-bearing, and he also very old; nevertheless, he doubted not God's word, but surely believed that he which promised it was able to perform it, and that was recounted unto him for righteousness. Thus Abraham did both eat his body and drink his blood through faith, believing, verily, that Christ should take our nature, and spring out of his seed (as touching his flesh), and also that he should suffer death to redeem us. And as Christ testifieth, he heartily desired to see the day of Christ. And he saw it and rejoiced: he saw it in faith, and had the day of Christ, that is to say, all those things that should chance him, plainly revelated unto him, albeit he were dead many hundred years before it were actually fulfilled and revelated unto the world. And by that faith was he saved, and yet never did eat his flesh with his teeth, nor never believed that bread should be his body and wine his blood. And, therefore, since he was also saved without that faith, and the same faith shall save us which saved him, I think that we shall also be saved if we eat him spiritually, as he did, although we never believe that the bread is his body. Furthermore, that merciful Moses, which brought the children of Israel out of Egypt into

Abraham.

Gen. xii.

Circumcision was the Sacrament of God's Covenant made with Abraham.

Abraham, by faith, did eat and drink Christ's body and blood.

John viii.

The spiritual eating and drinking of Christ shall save us.

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the wilderness, obtained of God, by prayers, both manna from heaven to feed his people, and also water out of the stone to refresh and comfort them. This manna and water were even the same thing unto them that the bread and wine is to us; for St. Austin saith, *Quicunque in manna Christum intellexerunt, eundem quem nos cibum spiritualem manducaverunt. Quicunque autem de manna solam saturitatem quesiverunt, manducabant, et mortui sunt. Sic etiam eundem potum: petra enim erat Christus.* That is to say, as many as in that manna understood Christ, did eat that same spiritual meat that we do; but as many as sought only to fill their bellies of that manna (the fathers of the unfaithful) did eat, and are dead: and likewise the same drink, for the stone was Christ.

Manna was to the Israelites the same that the Sacrament is to us now.

August. de Utilitate pœnitentiæ.

Here you may gather of St. Austin, that the manna was unto them as the bread is to us; and likewise, that the water was to them as the wine is to us, which anon shall appear more plainly. St. Austin saith further, *Manducavit et Moses manna, manducavit et Aaron, manducavit et Phinees, manducaverunt ibi multi qui Deo placuerunt, et mortui non sunt. Quare? Quia visibilem cibum spiritualiter intellexerunt, spiritualiter esurierunt, spiritualiter gustaverunt, ut spiritualiter satiarentur. Omnes eandem escam spiritualem manducaverunt, et omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt, spiritualem utique eandem: nam corporalem alteram (quia illi manna, nos aliud) spiritualem vero eandem quam nos. Et omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt, aliud illi, aliud nos: sed specie visibili quod tamen hoc idem significaret virtute spirituali. Quo modo eundem potum? bibebant (inquit Apostolus) de spirituali sequenti petra; petra autem erat Christus.* That is to say, Moses also did eat manna, and Aaron and Phinees did eat of it, and many other did there eat of it, which pleased God, and are not dead. Wherefore? Because they understood the visible meat spiritually. They

Aug. super Ioan. tract. xxvi.

A goodly saying of St. Augustine.

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were spiritually an hungered: they tasted it spiritually, that they might spiritually be replenished. They did all eat the same spiritual meat, and all drank the spiritual drink, even the same spiritual meat, albeit another bodily meat, for they did eat manna, and we eat another thing, but they did eat the same spiritual meat which we do, and they all did drink the same spiritual drink. They drank one thing, and we another; but that was in the outward appearance, which, nevertheless, did signify the same thing spiritually. How drank they the same drink? They (saith the apostle) drank of the spiritual stone following them, and that stone was Christ. And thereunto Beda added these words, *Videte autem fide manente, signa variata.* That is to say, Behold that the signs are altered, and yet the faith abideth one. Beda super. 1 Cor. x.

Of these places you may plainly perceive, not only that it is no article necessary to be believed under pain of damnation, seeing the old fathers never believed it, and yet did eat Christ in faith both before they had the manna, and more expressly through the manna, and with no less fruit when the manna was ceased. And albeit the manna was to them as the sacrament is to us, and they eat even the same spiritual meat that we do; yet were they never so mad as to believe that the manna was changed into Christ's own natural body; but understood it spiritually, that as the outward man did eat the material manna, which comforted the body, so did the inward man, through faith, eat the body of Christ, believing that, as that manna came down from heaven and comforted their bodies, so should their Saviour Christ, which was promised them of God the Father, come down from heaven and strengthen their souls in everlasting life, redeeming them from their sin by his death and resurrection. And likewise do we eat Christ in faith, both before we come to the sacrament, and more expressly through the sacrament, and with

To eat the Sacrament by faith spiritually, is to eat the body of Christ, &c.

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There is no cause why we should account the Sacrament to be Christ's natural body, for that were too gross an imagination.

no less fruit after we have received the sacrament; and need no more to make it his natural body than the manna was, but might much better understand it spiritually: that, as the outward man doth eat the material bread, which comforteth the body, so doth the inward man, through faith, eat the body of Christ, believing that as the bread is broken, so was Christ's body broken on the cross for our sins, which comforteth our souls unto life everlasting. And as the faith did save them, without believing that the manna was altered into his body, even so doth this faith save us, although we believe not that the substance of bread is turned into his natural body; for the same faith shall save us which saved them; and we are bound to believe no more under pain of damnation, than they were bound to believe. They believed in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and all that is in them. They did believe that Christ was the son of God. They did believe that he should take our nature of a virgin. They believed that he should suffer the death for our deliverance, which thing was signified in all the sacrifices, and besides that testified in every prophet, for there was verily not one prophet but he spake of that point. They believed that his soul should not be left in hell, but that he should arise from death, and reign everlasting with his Father. And to be short, there is no point in our creed but that they believed it, as well as we do; and those articles are only necessary unto salvation: for them am I bound to believe, and am damned without excuse if I believe them not.

We are not bound to believe upon pain of damnation, more than our fathers believed.

Gen. i.
Psal. i.
Isaiah vii.
Acts iii.
Acts ii.
Psal. xvi.

But the other points contained in Scripture, although they be undoubted verities, yet may I be saved without them. As be it in case that I never heard of them; or when I hear of them, I cannot understand them nor comprehend them; or that I hear them and understand them, and yet, by the reason of another text, misconstrue them, as the Bohemes do the words of Christ in

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the vith chapter of John: all these, I say, may be done without any jeopardy of damnation. In every text is but only one verity, for which it was spoken; and yet some texts there be, which of Catholic doctors are expounded in six or seven sundry fashions. Therefore we believe these articles of our creed: in the other is no peril, so that we have a probable reason to dissent from them. But now to return to our purpose. If we will examine the authorities of St. Austin and Beda, before alleged, we shall espy that, besides the probation of this foresaid proposition, they open the mystery of all our matter to them that have eyes to see. For St. Austin saith, that we and the old fathers do differ as touching the bodily meat, for they did eat manna and we bread, but albeit it varied in the outward appearance, yet, nevertheless, spiritually it did signify one thing; for both the manna and bread do signify Christ. And so both they and we do eat one spiritual meat, that is to say, we both eat the thing which signifieth and representeth unto us the very one spiritual meat of our souls, which is Christ. And Beda doth plainly call both the manna and the bread signs, saying, Behold that the signs are altered, and yet the faith abideth one. Now, if they be signs, then they do signify, and are not the very thing itself which they do signify; for the sign of a thing differeth from the thing itself which it doth signify and represent, as the alepole is not the ale itself which it doth signify or represent. Here thou wilt object against me, that if this faith be sufficient, what needeth the institution of a sacrament? I answer, that sacraments are instituted for three causes: The first is assigned of St. Austin, which saith on this manner: *In nullum autem nomen religionis, seu verum, seu falsum, coagulari homines possunt, nisi signaculorum seu Sacramentorum visibilium consortio colligantur, quorum Sacramentorum vis inenarrabiliter valet plurimum. Et ideo contempta sacrilegos facit. Impie quippe contem-*

We must believe the articles of our faith upon pain of damnation, but in the other there is no peril.

Aug. contra Faustum Lib. xix. *cap.* xi.

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nitur, sine qua perfici non potest pietas. That is to say, Men cannot be joined into any kind of religion, whether it be true or false, except they be knit in fellowship by some visible tokens or sacraments, the power of which sacraments is of such efficacy that cannot be expressed. And therefore it maketh them that despise it to be abhorred; for it is wickedness to despise that thing without which godliness cannot be brought to pass. Thus it appeareth that necessity is the first cause. For there can no congregation be severed out of the multitude of men, but they must needs have a sign, token, sacrament, or common badge, by the which they may know each other. And there is no difference between a sign or a badge, and a sacrament, but that the sacrament signifieth an holy thing, and a sign or a badge doth signify a worldly thing; as St. Austin saith, Signs, when they are referred to holy things, are called sacraments.

There be three causes why the Sacraments were instituted.

The first is necessity.

August. ad Marcellinum.

The second cause of their institution is, that they may be a means to bring us unto faith, and to imprint it the deeper in us; for it doth customably the more move a man to believe, when he perceiveth the thing expressed to diverse senses at once. As by example, if I promise a man to meet him at a day appointed, he will somewhat trust my word; notwithstanding, he trusteth not so much unto it, as if I did both promise him with my word, and also clap hands with him, or hold up my finger, for he counteth that this promise is strong and more faithful than is the bare word, because it moveth my senses. For the word doth but only certify the thing unto a man by the sense of hearing; but when, with my promise, immediately after I hold up my finger, then do I not only certify him by the sense of hearing, but also by his sight he perceiveth that that fact confirmeth my word; and in the clapping of hands he perceiveth both by his sight and feeling, besides the word, that I will fulfil my promise. And likewise it is in this sacrament: Christ promised them that he would give his

The second cause of the institution of Sacraments.

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body to be slain for their sins; and for to establish the faith of his promise in them, he did institute the sacrament, which he called his body, to the intent that the very name itself might put them in remembrance what was meant by it. He brake the bread before them, signifying unto them outwardly, even the same thing that he, by his word, had before protested; and even as his words had informed them by their hearing, that he intended so to do, so the breaking of that bread informed their eyesight that he would fulfil his promise. Then he did distribute it among them, to imprint the matter more deeply in them: signifying thereby, that even as that bread was divided among them, so should his body and fruit of his passion be distributed unto as many as believed his words. Finally, he caused them to eat it, that nothing should be lacking to confirm that necessary point of faith in them: signifying thereby, that as verily as they felt that bread within them, so sure should they be of his body through faith. And that even as that bread doth nourish the body, so doth faith in his body-breaking nourish the soul unto everlasting life. This did our merciful Saviour, which knoweth our frailty and weakness, to establish and strengthen their faith in his body-breaking and blood-shedding, which is our shot-anchor and last refuge, without which we should all perish.

How diligently Christ set forth the Sacrament of his body and blood, that we might by that outward sign assure our faith, that his very true body was crucified for our sins.

The third cause of the institution and profit that cometh of it, is this: They that have received these blessed tidings and word of health, do love to publish this felicity unto other men, and to give thanks before the face of the congregation unto their bounteous benefactor, and as much as in them is, to draw all people to the praising of God with them: which thing, though it be partly done by the preaching of God's word and fruitful exhortations, yet doth that visible token and sacrament, if a man understand what is meant thereby, more effectually work in them both

The third cause of the institution of Sacraments.

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faith and thanksgiving, than doth the bare word. But if a man wot not what it meaneth, and seeketh health in the sacrament and outward sign; then may he be well likened unto a fond fellow, which, when he is very dry, and an honest man show him an alepole and tell him that there is good ale enough, would go and suck the alepole, trusting to get drink out of it, and so to quench his thirst. Now a wise man will tell him that he playeth the fool, for the alepole doth but signify that there is good ale in the house where the alepole standeth; and will tell him that he must go near the house, and there he shall find the drink, and not stand sucking the alepole in vain, for it shall not ease him, but rather make him more dry; for the alepole doth signify good ale, yet the alepole itself is no good ale, neither is there any good ale in the alepole. And likewise it is in all sacraments; for if we understand not what they mean, and seek health in the outward sign, then we suck the alepole, and labour in vain. But if we do understand the meaning of them, then shall we seek what they signify, and go to the significations, and there shall we find undoubted health. As to our purpose in this sacrament whereof we speak, we must note what it signifieth, and there shall we find our redemption. It signifieth that Christ's body was broken upon the cross to redeem us from the thraldom of the devil, and that his blood was shed for us to wash away our sins. Therefore we must run thither, if we will be eased. For if we think to have our sins forgiven for eating of the sacrament, or for seeing the sacrament once a day, or for praying unto it, then surely we suck the alepole. And by this you may perceive what profit cometh of those sacraments, which either have no signification put unto them, or else when their significations are lost and forgotten; for then, no doubt, they are not commended of God, but are rather abominable. For when we know not what they mean, then seek we health

The Sacrament is profitable to none but to such as understand the doctrine thereof.

In example of the alepole.

The true signification of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.

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in the outward deed, and so are injurious unto Christ and his blood. As, by example, the sacrifices of the Jews were well allowed and accepted of God, as long as they used them aright, and understood by them the death of Christ, the shedding of his blood, and that holy oblation offered on the cross once for ever. But when they began to forget this signification, and sought their health and righteousness in the bodily work, and in the sacrifice itself, then were they abominable in the sight of God, and then he cried out of them both by the prophet David and Isaiah. And likewise it is with our sacraments. Let us therefore seek up the significations, and go to the very thing which the sacrament is set to present unto us, and there shall we find such fruitful food as shall never fail us, but comfort our souls into life everlasting.

The sacrifices of the Jews, as long as they were rightly used, were well accepted.

Now will I in order answer to M. More's book, and, as I find occasion given me, I shall endeavour myself to supply that thing which lacked in the first treatise; and I trust I shall show such light, that all men, whose eyes the Prince of this world hath not blinded, shall perceive the truth of the scriptures and glory of Christ. And whereas, in my first treatise, the truth was set forth with all simplicity, and nothing armed against the assault of sophisters; that have I somewhat redressed in this book, and have brought bones fit for their teeth, which if they be too busy, may chance to choke them.

Thus endeth my little treatise that I wrote unto my friend, being sufficient for his instruction.

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THUS BEGINNETH THE PREFACE OF M. MORE'S BOOK.

More. IN my most hearty wise I recommend me unto you, and send you by this bringer the writing again which I received from you. Whereof I have been offered a couple of copies more, in the mean while, as late as ye wot well it was.

Frith. Dear brethren, consider these words, and prepare you to the cross that Christ shall lay upon you, as ye
1 Pet. ii. have oft been counselled. For even as when the wolf
Luke xxii. howleth, the sheep had need to gather themselves to their shepherd, to be delivered from the assault of the bloody beast; likewise had you need to fly unto the shepherd of your souls, Christ Jesus, and to sell your
Ephes. vi. coats, and buy his spiritual sword, which is the word of God, to defend and deliver you in this present necessity: for now is the time that Christ told us of,
Matt. x. (Matt. x.) that he was come, by his word, to set variance between the son and his father, between the daughter and her mother, between the daughter-in-law
Mich. v. and her mother-in-law; and that in a man's own household shall be his enemies. But be not dismayed, nor think it no wonder, for Christ chose twelve, and one of
John vi. them was the devil, and betrayed his master. And we
Matt. x. that are his disciples may look for no better than he had himself, for the scholar is not above his master.

2 Cor. xii. Saint Paul protesteth that he was in peril among false brethren, and surely I suppose that we are in no less jeopardy. For if it be so that his mastership received one copy, and had a couple of copies more offered
John Frith met with false brethren. in the mean while, then may ye be sure that there are many false brethren, which pretend to have knowledge, and indeed are but pickthanks, providing for their

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belly: prepare ye therefore cloaks, for the weather waxeth cloudy, and rain is like to follow. I mean not false excuses and forswearing of yourselves, but that ye look substantially upon God's word, that you may be able to answer their subtle objections, and rather choose manfully to die for Christ and his word than cowardly to deny him for this vain and transitory life; considering that they have no farther power but over this corruptible body, which, if they put it not to death, must yet at the length perish of itself. But I trust the Lord shall not suffer you to be tempted above that you may bear; but according to the spirit that he shall pour upon you, shall he also send you the scourge, and make him that hath received more of the Spirit to suffer more, and him that receiveth less thereof, to suffer according to his talent. I thought it necessary first to admonish you of this matter, and now I will recite more of M. More's book.

2 Cor. x.

An exhortation to stand manfully by the profession of God's word.

"Whereby men may see how greedily these new-named brethren write it out, and secretly spread it abroad."

More.

The name is of great antiquity, although you list to jest; for they were called brethren before our bishops were called lords, and had the name given them by Christ, saying, (Matt. xxiv.) All ye are brethren; and (Luke xxv.) Confirm thy brethren; and the name was continued by the Apostles, and is a name that nourisheth love and amity. And very glad I am to hear of their greedy affection in writing out and spreading abroad the word of God, for by that I do perceive the prophecy of Amos to have place, which saith, in the person of God, I will send hunger and thirst into the earth; not hunger for meat, not thirst for drink, but for to hear the word of God. Now beginneth the kingdom of Heaven to suffer violence; now runneth the poor publicans, which acknowledge themselves sinners, to the word of God, putting both goods and body in

Frith.

Brethren is an ancient name in the Scripture.

Amos vi.

Matt. xi.

Luke xviii.

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jeopardy for the soul's health. And though our bishops do call it heresy, and all them heretics that hunger after it, yet do we know that it is the gospel of the living God, for the health and salvation of all that believe.

Rom. i. And as for the name, doth nothing offend us, though they call it heresy a thousand times; for St. Paul

Acts xxiv. testifieth that the Pharisees and priests, which were counted the very church in his time, did so call it, and therefore it forceth not, though they ruling in their rooms use the same names.

More. "Which young man, I hear say, hath lately made divers other things, that yet run in hoker-moker so close among the brethren, that there cometh no copies abroad."

Frith. I answer, that surely I cannot spin, and I think no man more hateth to be idle than I do: wherefore, in such things as I am able to do, I shall be diligent as long as God lendeth me my life. And if ye think I be

John Frith feared not death. too busy, you may rid me the sooner; for even as the sheep is in the butcher's hands ready bound, and looketh but even for the grace of the butcher when he shall shed his blood; even so am I bound at the bishops' pleasure, ever looking for the day of my death, insomuch that plain word was sent me, that the Chancellor of London said it should cost me the best blood in my body: which I would glad were shed to-morrow, if so be it might open the King's grace eyes.

And verily I marvel that any thing can run in hoker-moker, or be hid from you; for since you might have such store of copies concerning the thing which I most desired to have been kept secret, how should you then lack a copy of those things which I most would have

Frith wisheth all his works to be seen. published? And hereof ye may be sure I care not, though you and all the bishops within England look on all that ever I wrote, but rather would be glad that ye so did; for if there be any sparkle of grace in your breasts, I trust it should be an occasion some-

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what to kindle it, that you may consider and know yourselves, which is the first point of wisdom.

"And would God for his mercy," saith M. More, "that since there can nothing refrain their study from devising and compassing of evil and ungracious writing, that they would and could keep it so secretly that never man should see it, but such as are so far corrupted as never would be cured of their canker." More.

It is not possible for him that hath his eyes and seeth his brother which lacketh sight in jeopardy of perishing at a perilous pit, but that he must come to him and guide him, till he is past that jeopardy; and at the least wise, if he cannot come to him, yet will he call and cry unto him, to cause him [to] choose the better way, except his heart be cankered with the contagion of such hatred that he can rejoice in his neighbour's destruction. And even so is it not possible for us which have received the knowledge of God's word, but that we must cry and call to others, that they leave the perilous paths of their own foolish fantasies; and do that only to the Lord that he commandeth them, neither adding any thing nor diminishing. And therefore, until we see some means found by the which a reasonable reformation may be had on the one part, and sufficient instruction for the poor commoners, I assure you I neither will nor can cease to speak; for the word of God boileth in my body like a fervent fire, and will needs have an issue, and breaketh out when occasion is given. Frith. He that seeth his brother in peril of jeopardy, must warn him thereof. Deut. xii. Note here the earnest zeal of Frith.

But this hath been offered you, is offered, and shall be offered. Grant that the word of God, I mean the text of Scripture, may go abroad in our English tongue, as other nations have it in their tongues, and my brother William Tyndale and I have done, and will promise you to write no more: if you will not grant this condition, then will we be doing while we have breath, An offer made to the clergy by John Frith.

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and show in few words that the Scripture doth in many; and so at the least save some.

More. "But alack! this will not be; for, as St. Paul saith, the contagion of heresy creepeth on like a canker; for, as the canker corrupteth the body farther and farther, and turneth the whole parts into the same deadly sickness, so doth these heresies creep forth among good simple souls, till at the last it be almost past remedy."

Frith. This is a very true saying, and maketh well against his own purpose, for, indeed, this contagion began to spring even in St. Paul's time; insomuch that the Galatians were in a manner wholly seduced from his

2 Thes. ii. doctrine; and he said to the Thessalonians, The mystery of iniquity even now beginneth to work. And St. John testifieth that there were already many Anti-

1 John iv. christs risen in his days. And also, Paul prophesied what should follow after his time, (Acts xx.) saying,

Acts xx. Take ye heed to yourselves and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath put you overseers, to feed the congregation of God, which he purchased with his

The prophecy of St. Paul of the latter times. own blood. For I know this well, that after my departure shall enter in grievous wolves among you, which shall not spare the flock; and even of yourselves shall arise men speaking perverse things, to draw disciples after them; and therefore watch, &c. This canker, then, began to spread in the congregation, and did full sore annoy the body, insomuch that within four hundred years there were very many sects scattered in every coast; notwithstanding there were faithful fathers that diligently subdued them with the sword of

Silvester. God's word. But surely, since Silvester received such possessions, hath the canker so crept in the church, that it hath almost left never a sound member. And,

When corruption entered into the church. as Cistercensis writes in the eighth book, that day that he received revenues, was a voice heard in the air crying over the court, which said, This day is venom shed into

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the church of God. Before that time there was no bishop greedy to take a cure, for it was no honour and profit as it is now, but only a careful charge which was like to cost him his life at one time or other. And therefore no man would take it but he that bare such a love and zeal to God and his flock that he could be content to shed his blood for them. But after that it was made so honourable and profitable, they that were worst, both in learning and living, most laboured for it; for they that were virtuous would not entangle themselves with the vain pride of this world, and wear three crowns of gold, where Christ did wear one of thorns. And in conclusion it came so far, that whosoever would give most money for it, or best could flatter the prince, (which he knew well all good men to abhor,) had the preeminence, and got the best bishopric; and then, instead of God's word, they published their own commandments, and made laws to have all under them, and made men believe they could not err, whatsoever they did or said. And even as in the room and stead of Moses, Aaron, Eleazer, Joshua, Caleb, and other faithful folk, came Herod, Annas, Caiaphas, Pilate, and Judas, which put Christ to death; so now, in the stead of Christ, Peter, Paul, James, and John, and the faithful followers of Christ, we have the pope, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and proud prelates, with their proctor, the malicious ministers of their master the Devil, which, notwithstanding, transform themselves into a likeness as though they were the ministers of righteousness, whose end shall be according to their works. So that the body is cankered long ago, and now are left but certain small members, which God of his puissant power hath reserved uncorrupted; and because they see that they cannot be cankered as their own flesh is, for pure anger they burn them, lest, if they continued, there might seem some deformity in

Bishoprics were not greedily sought in the primitive church, for then it was a charge, and not a lordship.

Mat. xxvii. Mark xv. John xix.

A great alteration in the church since the time of Christ and his Apostles.

1 Cor. ii.

A little flock is left that are not corrupted.

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their own cankered carcase, by the comparing of these whole members to their scabbed body.

More. "Teacheth in a few leaves shortly all the poison that Wickliffe, Œcolampadius Huskyn, Tyndale, and Zuinglius have taught in all their books before concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar; not only affirming it to [be] very bread still, as Luther doth, but also (as these other beasts do) sayeth it is nothing else." And after the same, Sir Thomas More saith, "These dregs hath he drunken of Wickliffe, Œcolampadius, Tyndale, and Zuinglius, and so hath he all that he argueth here beside; which four, what manner folk they be, is meetly well perceived and known, and God hath in part, with his open vengeance, declared."

Frith. Luther is not the prick that I run at, but the Scripture of God. I do neither affirm nor deny any thing because Luther so saith, but because the Scripture of God doth so conclude and determine. I take not Luther for such an author that I think he cannot err, but I think verily that he both may err, and doth err, in certain points, although not in such as concern salvation and damnation; for in these, blessed be God! all these whom ye call heretics do agree right well. And likewise, I do not allow this thing because Wickliffe, Œcolampadius, Tyndale, and Zuinglius so say, but because I see them in that place more purely expound the Scripture, and that the process of the text doth more favour their sentence.

And where you say that I affirm it to be bread still, as Luther doth, the same I say again, not because Luther so sayeth, but because I can prove my words true by Scripture, reason, nature, and doctors. Paul calleth it bread, saying, The bread which we break is it not the fellowship of the body of Christ? for we, though we be many, are yet one body and one bread, as many as are partakers of one bread. And again he sayeth, As often as ye eat of this bread, or drink of this cup, you

1 Cor. x.

Paul calleth the Sacrament bread.

1 Cor. ii.

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shall show the Lord's death until he come. Also, Luke calleth it bread in the Acts, saying, They continued in the fellowship of the Apostles, and in breaking of bread, and in prayer. Also Christ called the cup the fruit of the vine, saying, I shall not from henceforth drink of the fruit of the vine, until I drink that new in the kingdom of my Father.

Acts ii.

Luke xxii.

Farthermore, Nature doth teach you, that both the bread and wine continue in their nature; for the bread mouldeth if it be kept long, yea, and worms breed in it, and the poor mouse will run away with it, and desire no other meat to her dinner, which are evident enough that there remaineth bread. Also the wine, if it were reserved, would wear sour, as they confess themselves, and therefore they housel the lay people but with one kind only, because the wine cannot continue, nor be reserved, to have ready at hand when need were. And surely, as if there remained no bread, it could not mould, nor wear full of worms; even so if there remained no wine, it could not wear sour: and therefore it is but false doctrine that our prelates so long have published. Finally, that there remaineth bread, might be proved by the authority of many doctors, which call it bread and wine, as Christ and his Apostles did; and though some sophisters would waste their sayings, and expound them after their fantasy, yet shall I allege them one doctor, which was also Pope of Rome, that maketh so plain with us, that they shall be compelled with shame to hold their tongues; for Pope Gelasius writeth on this manner: *Certe Sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis et sanguinis Christi divinæ res sunt, et propterea per illa participes facti sumus divinæ naturæ, et tamen non desinit esse substantia vel panis et vini, sed permanent in suæ proprietate naturæ. Et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione misteriorum celebrantur.* That is to say, Surely the Sacraments of the body and

Nature sayeth there is bread in the Sacrament.

The wine will wear sour if it be kept long.

The doctors prove that bread remaineth in the Sacrament.

Gelasius, a Pope, Contra Eutych. et Nestorium.

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blood of Christ are a godly thing, and therefore through them are we made partakers of the godly nature; and yet doth it not cease to be the substance or nature of bread and wine, but they continue in the property of their own nature; and surely the image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the act of the mysteries. This, I am sure, was the old doctrine, which they cannot avoid; and therefore, with the Scripture, nature, and fathers, I will conclude that there remaineth the substance and nature of bread and wine.

This is the saying of Gelasius, a Pope.

And where ye say that we affirm it to be nothing else, I dare say that ye untruly report on us all; and hereafter I will show you what it is more than bread. And where ye say that it is meetly well known what manner of folk they be, and that God hath in part, with his open vengeance, declared:

Wickliffe.

I answer, that Master Wickliffe was noted, while he was living, to be a man not only of most famous doctrine, but also of a very sincere life and conversation; nevertheless, to declare your malicious minds and vengeable hearts, as men say, fifteen years after he was buried, you took him up and burnt him, which fact declared your fury, although he felt no fire; but blessed be God, which hath given such tyrants no farther power but over this corruptible body; for the soul ye cannot bind nor burn; but God may bless where you curse, and curse where you bless.

Wickliffe buried fifteen years, and then burned.

Matt. x.

Malachi i.

Œcolampadius.

And as for Œcolampadius, whom you also call Huskyn, his most adversaries have ever commended his conversation and godly life, which, when God had appointed his time, gave place unto nature, as every man must, and died of a canker.

Tyndale.

And Tyndale, I trust, liveth well content with such a poor Apostle's life as God gave his son Christ, and his faithful ministers in this world, which is not sure of so many mites as ye be yearly of pounds, although

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I am sure that, for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted than all the bishops in England. I received a letter from him, which was written since Christmas, wherein, among other matters, he writeth thus:—I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me. Moreover I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God to myself in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep his laws, &c.—Judge, Christian reader, whether these words be not spoken of a faithful, clear, innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, is such, that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin; howbeit, no man is innocent before God, which beholdeth the heart.

Tyndale declareth his innocency.

Finally, Zuinglius was a man of such learning and gravity, besides eloquence, that I think no man in Christendom might have compared with him, notwithstanding he was slain in battle in defending his city and commonwealth against the assault of wicked enemies, which cause was most righteous; and if his mastership mean, that that was the vengeance of God, and declared him to be an evil person because he was slain, I may say nay, and show evident examples of the contrary; for sometimes God giveth the victory against them that have most righteous cause, as it is evident in the Book of Judges, where all the children of Israel were gathered together to punish the shameful sodomitry of the Tribe of Benjamin, which were in number but 25,000, and the Israelites were 400,000 fighting men, which came into Silo, and asked of God who should be their captain against Benjamin; and they being but 25,000, slew of the other Israelites 12,000 in one day. Then fled the children of Israel

Zuinglius.

Zuinglius slain in a just and righteous cause.

Judges xx.

Here note that the children of Israel fought at

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God's commandment, and in a righteous cause, and yet were twice overthrown.

unto the Lord in Silo, and made great lamentation before him, even until night; and asked him counsel, saying, Shall we go any more to fight against the Tribe of Benjamin, our brethren, or not? God said unto them, Yes, go up and fight against them. Then went they the next day, and fought against them, and there were slain again of the Israelites 18,000 men. Then came they back again unto the house of God, and sat down and wept before the Lord, and fasted that day until evening, and asked him again, whether they should any more fight against their brethren or not. God said unto them, Yes; to-morrow I will deliver them into your hands; and the next day was the Tribe of Benjamin utterly destroyed, saving 600 men, which hid themselves in the wilderness. Here it is evident that the children of Israel lost the victory twice, and yet, notwithstanding, had a just cause, and fought at God's commandment. Besides that, Judas Maccabeus was slain in a righteous cause, as is manifest in the first book of the Maccabees; and therefore it can be no evident argument of the vengeance of God, that he was slain in battle in a righteous cause, and therefore methinketh that this man is too malapert, so bluntly to enter into God's judgment, and give sentence in that matter before he be called to counsel. Thus have I sufficiently touched his preface; for those points which he afterward touched more largely have I willingly passed, because I shall touch them earnestly hereafter. Now let us see what he proveth.

1 Mac. ix.

M. More. "It is a great wonder to see upon how light and slight occasions he is fallen unto these abominable heresies. For he denieth not, nor cannot say nay, but that our Saviour said himself, My flesh is verily meat, and my blood is verily drink. He denieth not also, that Christ himself at his Last Supper, taking the bread into his blessed hands, after that he had blessed it, said unto his disciples, Take you this and eat it, this is my body that

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shall be given for you. And likewise gave them the chalice after his blessing and consecration, and said unto them, This is the chalice of my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed out for many: do ye this in remembrance of me."

Frith.

It is a great wonder to see how ignorant their proctor is in the plain texts of Scripture; for if he had any judgment at all, he might well perceive, that when Christ spake these words, My flesh is verily meat, and my blood is verily drink, he spake nothing of the Sacrament; for it was not institute until his Last Supper, and these words were spoken to the Jews long before; and meant them not of the carnal eating or drinking of his body or blood, but of the spiritual eating, which is done by faith, and not with tooth or belly. Whereof St. Austin saith, upon his Gospel of John, Why preparest thou either tooth or belly? believe, and thou hast eaten him. So that Christ's words must here be understood spiritually; and that he calleth his flesh very meat, because, that as meat, by the eating of it and digesting it in our body, doth strengthen these corruptible members, so likewise doth Christ's flesh, by the believing that it taketh our sin upon itself, and suffered the death to deliver us and strengthen our immortal soul. And likewise, as drink when it is drunken doth comfort and quicken our frail nature, so likewise doth Christ's blood, by the drinking of it into the bowels of our soul, that is by the believing and remembering that it is shed for our sins, comfort and quicken our soul unto everlasting life. And this is the eating and drinking that he speaketh of in that place. And that it is so, you may perceive by the text following, which saith, He that eateth my body and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him, which is not possible to be understood of the Sacrament. For it is false to say, that he that eateth the Sacrament of his body, and drinketh the Sacrament of his blood, dwelleth

Christ spake of no carnal eating of him, but of a spiritual eating by faith.

The Papists do falsely allege this text.

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in Christ and Christ in him; for some man receiveth it unto his condemnation. And thus doth St. Austin expound it, saying, *Hoc est enim Christum manducare, in illo manere et illum manentem in se habere.* This is the very eating of Christ to dwell in him and to have him dwelling in us: so that whosoever dwelleth in Christ (that is to say, believeth that he is sent of God to save us from our sins,) doth verily eat and drink his body and blood, although he never received the Sacrament. This is the spiritual eating necessary for all that shall be saved; for there is no man that cometh to God without this eating of Christ, that is the believing in him. And so I deny not but that Christ speaketh these words, but surely he meant it spiritually, as St. Austin declareth, and as the place plainly proveth.

Aug. in Johan. tract. 26.

To believe in Christ is to dwell in Christ.

Matt. xxvi. And as touching the other words that Christ spake unto his disciples at the Last Supper, I deny not but that he said so; but that he so fleshly meant, as ye falsely fain, I utterly deny. For I say that his words were then also spirit and life, and were spiritually to be understood; and that he called it his body; for a certain property, even as he called himself a very vine, and his disciples very vine-branches, and as he called himself a door; not that he was so in deed, but for certain properties in the similitudes: As a man, for some property, saith of his neighbour's horse, this horse is mine up and down, meaning that it is in every thing so like. And like as Jacob builded an altar, and called it the house of God; and as Jacob called the place where he wrestled with the angel, the face of God; and as the Paschal Lamb was called the passing by of the Lord; and as a broken potsherd was called Jerusalem: not for that they were so indeed, but for certain similitudes in the properties, and that the very name itself might put men in remembrance what is meant by the thing, as I sufficiently declared in my first treatise.

John vi. John xv. John x.

Gen. xxxv. Gen. xxxii.

Jer. xix.

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"He must needs confess, that they that believe that it is the very body and his very blood indeed, have the plain words of our Saviour himself upon their side for the ground and foundation of their faith." More.

That is very true, and so have they the very words of God, which say that a broken potsherd is Jerusalem, and that Christ is a stone, and that Christ is a vine and a door. And yet, if they should believe or think that he were indeed any of these things, they were spiritual, and nevertheless deceived. For though he so said, yet I say his words were spiritually to be understood. And where you say that I fly from the faith of plain and open Scriptures, and for the allegory destroy the true sense of the letter, I answer that some texts of Scripture are only to be understood after the letter: as when Paul saith, Christ died for our sins and arose again for our justification. And some texts are only to be understood spiritually, or in the way of allegory: as when Paul saith, Christ was the stone; and when Christ saith himself, I am a very vine, I am the door. And some must be understood both literally and spiritually: as when God said, Out of Egypt called I my son; which, although it were literally fulfilled in the children of Israel, when he brought them out of Egypt with great power and wonders, yet was it also meant and verified in Christ himself, his very spiritual Son, which was called out of Egypt after the death of Herod. And again it is very spiritually fulfilled in us, which, through Christ's blood, are delivered from the Egypt of sin, and from the power of Pharaoh the Devil. And I say that this text of Scripture, This is my body, is only spiritually to be understood, and not literally. And that doth St. Austin also confirm, which writeth unto Adamantus, and saith, These sentences of Scripture, Christ was the stone, the blood is the soul, and this is my body, are figuratively to be understood, (that is to say Frith. Rom. iv. 1 Cor. x. John xv. John x. Hosea xi. Matt. ii. The Scripture speaketh diversly, and hath divers senses.

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spiritually, or by the way of an allegory): and thus have I St. Austin wholly on my side, which thing shall yet hereafter more plainly appear.

M. More. "Now his example of his bridegroom's ring I very well allow; for I take the blessed Sacrament to be left with us for a very token and a memorial of Christ indeed; but I say that the whole substance of the same token and memorial is his own blessed body. And so I say that Christ has left us a better token than this man would have us take it for. And therein he fareth like a man to whom a bridegroom had delivered a goodly gold ring, with a rich ruby therein, to deliver his bride for a token; and then he would, like a false shrew, keep away that gold ring, and give the bride instead thereof a proper ring of a rush, and tell her that the bridegroom would send her no better. Or else like one, that when the bridegroom had given such a ring of gold to his bride for a token, will tell her plain, and make her believe, that the ring were but copper or brass, to diminish the bridegroom's thanks."

More is a mocker and trifler.

Frith. I am right glad that ye admit mine example, and grant that the Sacrament is left to be a very token and a memorial of Christ indeed. But where you say, that the whole substance of the same token and memorial is his own blessed body, that is sooner said than proved. For St. Austin showeth the contrary, as it is partly before touched, and hereafter shall be declared more plainly. And where you say that we fare like a false shrew, that would keep the gold ring from the bride, and give her a ring of a rush, or tell her that her gold ring were copper or brass, to diminish the bridegroom's thanks: I answer, that we deny not but that the ring is most fine gold, and is set with as rich rubies as can be gotten. For that ring (I mean the Sacrament) is not only a most perfect token and a memorial of the bridegroom's benefits and unfeigned favour on his part, but it is also on the other part Eucharistia: that is to say,

In answer to More's trifling.

Eucharistia.

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a thanksgiving for the gracious gifts which she undoubtedly acknowledgeth herself to have received. For as verily as that bread is broken among them, so verily was Christ's body broken for their sins; and as verily as they receive that bread into their belly through eating it, so verily do they receive the fruit of his death into their souls by believing in him. And therefore they assemble to that Supper, not for the value of the bread, wine, or meat that is there eaten, but for the intent to give him thanks commonly among them all for his inestimable goodness. But to proceed unto our purpose: if a man would come unto the bride, and tell her that this goodly gold ring were her own bridegroom, both flesh, blood, and bones (as you do), then I think, if she have any wit, she might answer him, that he mocked, and the more he said it, the less she might believe him, and say, that if that were her own bridegroom, what should she then need any remembrance of him, or why should he give it her for a remembrance? For a remembrance presupposeth the thing to be absent; and therefore if this be a remembrance of him, then can he not here be present.

The right cause why we should come to the Table of our Lord.

More hath here a check-mate.

"I marvel me therefore much that he is not afraid to affirm, that these words of Christ, of his body and of his blood, must needs be understood by way of a similitude or an allegory, as the words be of the vine and the door. Now this he wots well, that though some words spoken by the mouth of Christ be to be understood only by way of a similitude or an allegory, yet followeth it not thereupon, that every like word of Christ in other places was no other but an allegory, for such was the shift and cavillation that the wicked Arians used, which took from Christ's person his Omnipotent Godhead."

M. More.

I grant that the Arians erred, for, as M. More saith, though in some places a word be taken figuratively, it followeth not therefore in every other place it should

Frith.

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likewise be taken. But one question must I ask his mastership, How doth he know that there is any word or text in Scripture that must be taken figuratively? that is, by the way of a similitude, or, as he calleth it, a necessary allegory? I think, (though some men may assign other good causes and evidences,) that the first knowledge is by other texts of Scripture. For if other texts be conferred unto it, and will not stand with the literal sense, then I think it must needs be taken spiritually or figuratively, as there are infinite texts in Scripture. Now, when I see that St. Thomas, which felt Christ's wounds, and put his finger in his side, called him his Lord and God, and that no text in Scripture repugneth unto the same, but that they may well stand together, methinketh it were folly to affirm that this word God in that text should be taken figuratively, or by way of an allegory: but now, in our matter, the process of Scripture will not stand with the literal sense, as shall hereafter appear. And therefore necessity compelleth us to expound it figuratively, as doth also St. Austin and other holy doctors, as hereafter shall plainly appear.

Why certain places of the Scripture must be understood spiritually.

M. More. "If every man that can find out a new-found fantasy upon a text of Holy Scripture, may have his own mind taken, and his own exposition believed against the expositions of the old cunning doctors and saints, then may you surely see that no article of the Christian faith can stand and endure long." And then he allegeth St. Jerome, which saith, That if the exposition of other interpreters, and the consent of the common Catholic Church, were of no more strength, but that every man might be believed that could bring some texts of Scripture for him expounded as it pleased himself, then could I, saith this holy man, bring a new sect also, and say by Scripture, that no man were a true Christian man, nor a member of the church, that keepeth two coats. And in good faith, saith M. More, if that way

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were allowed, I were able myself to find out fifteen new sects in one forenoon."

St. Peter saith, that the Scripture is not expounded after the appetite of any private person, but even as it was given by the Spirit of God, and not by man's will, so must it be declared by the same Spirit; and therefore I will not that any man shall be believed by bringing his own mind and fantasy. But if he will be believed, let him bring either another plain text, which shall expound the first, or else, at the least, he must bring such a sentence as will stand with the process of the Scripture. Why was St. Jerome allowed against the determination of the Council of Malta, since he was alone and they a great multitude? but only because he brought evident Scripture, which at the time of their sentence none of them remembered; and yet, when it was brought, they could not avoid it. And likewise, except I bring evident Scripture, which they all shall expound as I do, I desire not to be believed. And where M. More saith, that in good faith he were able to find out fifteen new sects in one forenoon, he may thank God that he hath such a pregnant wit; but yet I trust he should not find one (if there were any peril of damnation therein) but that we would make a plain text confute it, which he should not be able to avoid.

Frith.

No man is to be believed that bringeth his own judgment only upon any sentence of Scripture.

More is here prettily nipped.

"And over this the very circumstances of the places in the Gospel in which our Saviour speaketh of that Sacrament, may well make open the difference of his speech in this matter and of all those other; and that, as he spake all those but in an allegory, so spake he this plainly, meaning, that he spake of his very body, and his very blood, beside all allegories. For when our Lord said he was a very vine, and when he said he was the door, there was none that heard him that any thing marvelled thereof. And why? For because they perceived well that he meant not that he was a material vine indeed, nor a door neither. But when he said that

M. More.

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his flesh was very meat, and his blood very drink, and that they should not be saved but if they did eat his flesh and drink his blood, then were they all in such a wonder thereof that they could not abide. And wherefore? but because they perceived well, by his words and his manner of circumstances, that Christ spake of his very flesh and his very blood indeed."

Frith. John vi.

It is openly known and confessed among all learned men, that in the sixth chapter of John, Christ spake not one word concerning the Sacrament of his body and blood (which at that time was not yet instituted), but all that he there spake was of the spiritual eating and drinking of his body and blood into our souls, which is the faith in his body and blood, as I have touched before. And the circumstances of this place do indeed prove that they were fleshly-minded, and understood not the spiritual words of our Saviour Christ, and therefore wondered and murmured, insomuch that Christ said unto them, Doth this offend you? What will you say, then, when ye shall see the Son of Man ascending thither where he was before? Then, addeth St. Austin, you shall know that he meant not to give his flesh to eat with your teeth; for he shall ascend whole. And Christ addeth, It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak are spirit and life: that is to say, saith St. Austin, are spiritually to be understood. And where Christ saith that the flesh profiteth nothing, meaning of his own flesh, as St. Austin saith, he meaneth that it profiteth not as they understood him; that is to say, it profiteth not if it were eaten. But it doth much profit to be slain, that through it and the shedding of his blood the wrath of God our Father is pacified and our sins forgiven. And when his mastership saith, that the people perceived well what he meant, and therefore wondered so sore, and could not abide, because they perceived well by his words and manner of

Note here the saying of St. Austin.

How the flesh of Christ profiteth nothing, and how it doth profit.

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circumstances what his meaning was, I will say, as I did before, that they understood him not. Now, here he will say unto me, If it be but your nay and my yea, then I would think to be believed as soon as you; and surely that were but reason. Notwithstanding, thanks be to God! I am able to bring in authority to judge between us both, whose judgment, I trust, his mastership will admit. This author is St. Austin, which saith, *Discipuli enim ejus qui eum sequebantur expaverunt et exhorruerunt sermonem non intelligentes.* That is to say, His disciples which followed him were astonished, and abhorred his words, and understood them not. And because your mastership shall not think that he overshot himself, and spake he wist not what, we shall allege him saying the same words in another place. *Cum diceret, Nisi quis manducaverit carnem, etc. illi (non intelligentes) dixerunt ad invicem, Durus est hic sermo, quis potest eum audire?* That is, When Christ said, Except a man eat my flesh and drink my blood he shall have no life in him; they, because they understood him not, said to each other, This is a hard saying, who can hear him? Thus, I trust you will give place, although not to me, yet at the least unto St. Austin, and receive the truth which is so plainly proved. And where his mastership allegeth this text for the Sacrament, that except they did eat his flesh and drink his blood, they could not be saved; it seemeth that he is fallen into the error of Pope Innocent, which likewise understanding this text upon the Sacrament as M. More doth, caused young children and infants to receive the Sacrament, as though they had all been damned which died and had not received it. And of this carnal mind were many more bishops a great while, (as are now the Bohemians, whom he after dispraiseth, and yet expoundeth the text as they do,) but afterward they looked more spiritually upon the matter, and confessed their ignorance, as I trust M. More will. But

Frith useth not words without alleging authorities.

Augustinus in sermone ad infantes.

August. 54.

The Jews understood Christ carnally, and not spiritually, as he meant.

M. More fallen into the error of Pope Innocent.

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now will I show you St. Austin's mind upon this text, which shall help for the exposition of all this matter.

Aug. lib. 3. De Doctrina Christiana.

St. Austin, in the third book *De Doctrina Christiana*, the sixteenth chapter, teaching how we shall know the tropes, figures, allegories, and phrases of the Scripture, saith, *Si autem flagitium aut facinus jubere videtur, figurativa locutio est. Nisi manducaveritis (inquit) carnem filii hominis et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere: Figura est ergo precipiens passionis dominicæ esse communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter in memoria recondendum quòd pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit.* That is to say, Whensoever the Scripture, or Christ, seemeth to command any foul or wicked thing, then must that text be taken figuratively; that is, it is a phrase, allegory, and manner of speaking, and must be understood spiritually, and not after the letter. Except, saith Christ, ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you. He seemeth, saith St. Austin, to command a foul and a wicked thing. It is therefore a figure, commanding us to be partakers of his passion, and sweetly and profitably to print in our mind that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us. This truth, thanks be to God! doth St. Austin declare unto us: which thing besides the opening of this text against M. More's mind, doth plainly show what he thought in the words of Christ's Supper. For since he called it a foul and a wicked thing to eat his flesh, then may you soon perceive that he thought it was foul and as wicked a thing to eat his body, seeing his body is flesh; and then, consequently, it shall follow, that either this word eat, where Christ said, Take this and eat it, must be taken spiritually; or else that this saying of Christ, This is my body, must be figuratively spoken. But this word eat is taken after the letter, for they did indeed eat the bread; therefore it must needs follow that this sen-

Here St. Austin showeth plainly that Christ's words were a figurative speech.

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tence, This is my body, must be figuratively spoken; or else is St. Austin not to be approved in this place, which thing our bishops, I think, will not say nay.

Besides that, St. Austin saith, *Quando loquebatur dominus noster Jesus Christus de corpore suo, Nisi, inquit, quis manducaverit carnem meam et biberit sanguinem meum, non habebit in se vitam. Caro enim mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus. Intellectus spiritualis credentem salvum facit, quia litera occidit, spiritus est qui vivificat.* That is to say, When our Lord Jesus Christ spake of his body, Except, quoth he, a man eat my flesh and drink my blood, he shall have no life in himself, for my flesh is very meat, and my blood is very drink. The spiritual understanding saveth him that believeth, for the letter killeth, but the spirit quickeneth. Here may you plainly perceive that this text must only be taken spiritually; for he saith, that to take it after the letter, it killeth, and profiteth nothing at all, and therefore I wonder that we have been led so long in this gross error.

Augustinus in sermone ad infantes.

This saying doth the famous clerk Origen confirm, saying, *Agnosce quod figuræ sunt quæ in voluminibus Domini scriptæ sunt: et ideo tanquam spirituales et non tanquam carnales, examinate et intelligite quæ dicuntur. Si enim secundum literam sequaris hoc ipsum quod dictum est, Nisi manducaveritis carnem, etc. occidit hæc litera.* That is to say, Mark that they are figures which are written in the Scripture of God, and therefore examine them as spiritual men and not as carnal, and understand those things that are spoken. For if thou follow after the letter this thing that is spoken, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you can have no life in you—this letter killeth. Alas, dear brethren! why should any man be offended with this doctrine, since it is approved so plainly by such ancient and holy fathers?

Orig. in Levi ho. 7.

Christ's words are spiritual, and not carnal.

Again, St. Austin saith, *Qui manducat carnem*

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August. sermo. circa sacra feria Pas chæ.

meam et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet, et ego in illo. Hoc est ergo manducare illam escam et illum bibere potum, in Christo manere et illum manentem in se habere; ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo et in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio non manducat ejus carnem nec bibit sanguinem, etiam si tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducet et bibat. That is to say, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. This is therefore the eating of that meat and drinking of that blood, to abide in Christ and have him abiding in us. And therefore, he that abideth not in Christ, and in whom Christ abideth not, without doubt he eateth not his flesh nor drinketh not his blood, although he eat and drink the Sacrament of so great a thing unto his damnation. And even the same words hath Bede upon the Corinthians, 1 Cor. x. This one place is sufficient for to prove my purpose, though he said not one word more: for here he doth plainly determine, that he which abideth not in Christ, that is to say, he that is wicked or unfaithful, doth not eat his flesh nor drink his blood, although he eat and drink the Sacrament of so great a thing. And so must it needs follow, that the Sacrament is not the very natural body of Christ; for then the unfaithful should eat his flesh, seeing he eateth the Sacrament of his body; but that doth St. Austin deny. Wherefore it must needs follow, that it is but only a token of a remembrance, and a sign of his body breaking, and a representation of his passion, that we might keep his fact in memory, and give him thanks for his tender love and kindness, which, when we were his enemies, took upon him to suffer most vile death, to reconcile us unto his Father, and make us his friends. This saying hath St. Austin in another place also, where he writeth on this manner: *Qui non in me manet, et in quo ego non maneo, non se dicat aut existimet manducare corpus meum, aut bibere sanguinem meum. Non itaque manent in Christo, qui non sunt ejus mem-*

The eating and drinking of Christ, what it is.

Idem Beda super 1 Cor. x.

The wicked eat not the flesh of Christ.

a Rom. v.

August. de civitat. Dei, li. 21. ca. 25.

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bra: non sunt autem membra Christi, qui se faciunt membra meretricis. That is to say, He that abideth not in me, and in whom I abide not, let him not say or think that he eateth my body or drinketh my blood They abide not in Christ which are not his members; and they are not his members which make themselves the members of an harlot. And these are also the very words of Bede. Here it is plainly proved again by the authority of St. Austin and Bede, that the wicked and unfaithful, which are not the members of Christ, do not eat his body nor drink his blood, and yet they do eat his Sacrament as well as the other: wherefore you must needs grant that the Sacrament is not the natural body of Christ, but a figure, token, or memorial thereof. Now, good Christian people, count not this new learning, which is affirmed by such old doctors and faithful fathers.

Beda super 1 Cor. vi.

The Sacrament is a figure, token, and a memorial of the breaking of Christ's body and shedding of his blood.

Now were this enough for a Christian man that loved no contention; but because there are so many sophisters in the world, which care not what they say, so they hold not their peace; I must needs set some bulwark by this holy doctor to help to defend him, for else they will shortly overrun him, as they do me, and make him an heretic too. Therefore I will allege his master, St. Ambrose. St. Ambrose saith, *Non iste panis est qui vadit in corpus, sed ille panis vitæ æternæ qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulscit.* That is, It is not this bread that goeth into the body, but that bread of everlasting life which upholdeth the substance of our soul. Furthermore, the great clerk Prosper confirmeth the same, saying: *Qui discordat à Christo nec carnem Christi manducat, nec sanguinem bibit, etiam si tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium suæ præsumptionis quotidie indifferenter accipiat.* That is, He that discordeth from Christ, doth neither eat his flesh nor drink his blood, although he receive indifferently every day the Sacrament of so great a thing, unto the condemnation of his

Ambros. de sacra. lib. v. cap. 4.

Prosp. in libro sententiarum. sent. 339.

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Idem Beda super 1 Cor. ii.

presumption. And these are also the very words of Bede upon the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

Now you may see that it is not St. Austin's mind only, but also the saying of many more; and therefore I trust you will be good unto him. And if ye condemn not these holy fathers, then am I wrongfully punished; but if you condemn them, then must poor Frith be content to bear the burden with them.

THE MIND AND EXPOSITION OF THE OLD DOCTORS

UPON THE WORDS OF CHRIST'S MAUNDY.

More.

AND where M. More saith, "That if Christ had not meant after the plain literal sense, that both the hearers at that time, and the expositors since, and all Christian people beside, this fifteen hundred years, would not have taken only the literal sense, being so strange and marvellous that it might seem impossible, and decline from the letter for allegories in all such other things, being, as he saith, and as indeed they be, so many far in number more."

Frith.

As touching the hearers, they were deceived and understood him not; I mean as many as took his words fleshly, as you do. And they had their answer of Christ when they murmured, that his words were spirit and life; that is, as St. Austin saith, spiritually to be understood and not fleshly, as is before declared. And as for the expositors, I think he hath not one of the old fathers for him, but certain new fellows, as Dominic, St. Thomas, Occam, and such other which have made

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the Pope a God. And, as I have showed, St. Austin maketh full for us, and so do all the old fathers, as Œcolampadius hath well declared in his book, *Quid veteres senserint de Sacramento eucharistiæ;* and some of their sayings I shall allege anon. And where you say that all Christian people have so believed this fifteen hundred years, that is very false; for there is no doubt but that the people thought as holy St. Austin and other faithful fathers taught them, which, as I said, make with us. Notwithstanding, indeed, since our prelates have been made lords, and have set up their laws and decrees contrary to the prerogative of all princes, and, like most subtle traitors, have made all men believe that they may make laws and bind men's consciences to obey them, and that their laws are God's laws, blinding the people's eyes with two or three texts wrongfully wrested to advance their pride, where they ought to obey kings and princes, and be subject to their laws, as Christ and his apostles were even unto the death;—since that time, I say, they have made men believe what they list, and made articles of the faith at their pleasure. One article must be, that they be the church and cannot err; and this is the ground of all their doctrine. But the truth of this article is now sufficiently known; for if Queen Katherine be King Henry's wife, then they do err; and if she be not, then they have erred, to speak no more cruelly. It is now become an article of our faith, that the Pope of Rome must be the Head of the Church and the Vicar of Christ, and that by God's law: it is an article of our faith, that whatsoever he bindeth in earth, is bound in heaven, insomuch that if he curse wrongfully, yet he must be feared: and infinite such other which are not in our creed. But blessed be God that hath given some light into our Prince's heart! for he hath lately put forth a book, called "The Glass of Truth," which proveth many of these articles very foolish fantasies, and that

More hath no old author to maintain his quarreling papistry.

The Papists have corrupted the Scriptures, and advanced themselves above kings and rulers.

Articles of our faith made by the Pope.

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To believe the articles contained in our creed is sufficient for our salvation.

even by their own doctors. And so I trust you shall be proved in this point of the Sacrament; for though it be an article of our faith, it is no article of our creed, in the twelve articles whereof are sufficient for our salvation; and therefore we may think that you lie, without all jeopardy of damnation.

Nevertheless, seeing his mastership saith that all make for him, and I say clean contrary, that all the old fathers make against him, or at the least wise not with him, it were necessary that one of us should prove his purpose. But, indeed, in this point, he would like to have the advantage of me; for he thinketh that men will sooner believe him, which is a great man, than me, which am but a poor man; and that, therefore, I had more need to prove my part true, than he to prove his. Well, I am content, and therefore give ear, dear reader, and judge between us.

Frith allegeth authorities to prove his doctrine true.

Tertul. lib. 2. contra Marcionem.

First, I will begin with Tertullian, because he is of most antiquity. Tertullian, speaking of Christ, saith, *Nec panem reprobavit quod ipsum corpus suum representat.* That is to say, Christ himself did not reprove or discommend bread, whereby he doth represent his very body. For the understanding of this place, you must know that there was an heretic called Marcion, which did reprove creatures, and said that all manner of creatures were evil. This thing doth Tertullian improve by the Sacrament, and saith, Christ did not reprove or discommend bread, whereby he doth represent his body: as though he should say, if Christ had counted the bread evil, then would he not have left it for a Sacrament to represent his body; meaning, that it is a Sacrament, sign, token and memorial of his body, and not the body itself. And that this is his mind, doth plainly appear in his fourth book, where he saith, *Christus acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illud fecit: Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei: figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset*

Tertul. lib. 4. contra Marcionem.

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corpus. Cæterum vacua res quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset. That is to say, Christ, taking bread and distributing unto his disciples, made it his body, saying, This is my body; that is to say, a figure of my body. But this bread could not have been a figure of it, except Christ had had a true body; for a vain thing or a fantasy can take no figure. For the understanding of this place, you must mark that this heretic Marcion, against whom this author writeth, did hold opinion that Christ had no natural body, but only a fantastical body; and this opinion doth this doctor improve by the Sacrament of the altar, saying, The Sacrament is a figure of his body; *ergo*, Christ had a true body, and not a fantastical body; for a vain thing or fantasy can take no figure. Lo! here doth this old father, which was long before St. Austin or St. Jerome, expound these words of Christ, This is my body; that is to say, a figure of my body, therefore you are to blame to call it new learning. Now, because they shall not of temerarious presumption reject this old father, I shall establish his words by St. Austin, which commendeth Christ's marvellous patience for suffering so long the traitor Judas, as though he had been a good man, and yet was not ignorant of his wicked thoughts. *Adhibuit (inquit) ad convivium in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis commendavit ac tradidit.* That is to say, He admitted him, saith St. Austin, unto the maundy, wherein he did betake and deliver unto the disciples the figure of his body and blood. Here doth this holy father St. Austin call it a figure of his body; and I am sure there is no man so childish, but that he knoweth that the figure of a thing is not the thing itself: as, by example, the figure of Christ is not Christ himself, the figure of St. Peter is not St. Peter himself; and yet we do, nevertheless, commonly call those figures by the name of the thing that they do represent; as I may say, when I see the figure of

This is my body, that is to say, a figure of my body.

August. in præfa. Psal. iii.

Christ delivered to his disciples the figure of his body.

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St. Peter, this is St. Peter to whom Christ delivered the keys of the kingdom of Heaven; and yet he were a fool that would think that figure to be St. Peter himself, for it is only a representation of him. Besides that, St. Austin saith, *Non hoc corpus quod videtis estis manducaturi, nec bibituri illum sanguinem quem effusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi, spiritualiter intellectum vivificat vos.* That is to say, You shall not eat this body that you see, nor drink that blood which they that crucify me shall shed out: I have given a certain Sacrament unto you, if it be spiritually understood it quickeneth you. What things can be more plainly spoken?

August. super Psal. xcviii.

Furthermore, St. Austin saith, *Sæpe ita loquimur ut pascha appropinquante crastinam vel perendinam Domini passionem dicamus: cum ille ante tam multos annos passus sit, nec omnino nisi semel illa passio facta sit. Nempe ipso die dominico dicimus Hodie Dominus resurrexit, cum ex quo surrexit tot anni transierunt. Quare nemo tam ineptus est, ut nos ita loquentes arguat esse mentitos, quia istos dies secundum illorum quibus hæc gesta sunt similitudinem nuncupamus: ut dicatur ipse dies qui non sit ipse, sed revolutione temporum similis ejus: et dicatur illo die fieri propter Sacramenti celebrationem, quod non illo die, sed jam olim factum est. Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso? et tamen in Sacramento non solum per annuas paschæ solennitates, sed omni die pro populis immolatur. Nec utique mentitur qui interrogatus, responderit eum immolari. Si enim Sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sunt Sacramenta non haberent, omnino Sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum Sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, et Sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita Sacramentum fidei fides est. Nihil est autem aliud credere, quam fidem habere; ac per hoc*

August. ad Bonifacium, Epist. xxiii.

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cum respondetur parvulus credere, qui fidei nondum habet effectum, respondetur fidem habere propter fidei Sacramentum, et convertere se ad Deum propter conversionis Sacramentum: quia et ipsa responsio pertinet ad celebrationem Sacramenti. Sicut de ipso Baptismo apostolus, Consepulti (inquit) sumus Christo per Baptismum in mortem. Non ait sepulturam significamus, sed prorsus ait, consepulti sumus. Sacramentum ergo tantæ rei non nisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncupavit. That is to say, We often use to say, when Easter draweth nigh, that to-morrow or the next day is the Lord's passion, and yet it is many years since he suffered, and that passion was never done but once: and upon that Sunday we say, This day the Lord did rise again, and yet it is many years since he rose. Now is there no man so foolish to reprove us as liars for so saying, because we name these days after the similitude of those in which these things were done, so that it is called the same day, which is not the very same, but, by the revolution of time, like it; and it is named to be done the same day through the celebration of the Sacrament, (through keeping the memorial of the thing once done,) which is not done that day, but was done long ago. Was not Christ once crucified in his own person, and yet in a mystery (which is the remembrance of his very passion) he is crucified for the people, not only every feast of Easter, but every day. Neither doth he lie which, when he is asked, answereth that he is crucified; for if the Sacraments had not certain similitudes of those things whereof they are Sacraments, then should they be no Sacraments at all. And for this similitude, for the most part, they take the names of the very things; and therefore, as after a certain manner the Sacrament of Christ's body is Christ's body, and the Sacrament of Christ's blood is Christ's blood, so the Sacrament of faith is faith. For it is no other thing to believe, than to have faith; and therefore, when a man answereth that

The Sacrament is the memorial of Christ's death.

The Sacrament of Christ's body and blood, after a manner, is Christ's body and blood.

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the infant believeth, which hath not the effect of faith, he answereth that it hath faith for the Sacrament of faith; and that it turneth itself to God for the Sacrament of conversion: for the answer itself pertaineth unto the ministering of the Sacrament. As the Apostle writeth of baptism, We are buried, saith he, with Christ, through baptism, unto death. He saith not we signify burying, but utterly saith we are buried. He called, therefore, the Sacrament of so great a thing, even with the name of the very thing itself.

Good Friday next is called the day that Christ suffered his passion, and yet it is not so, for that Good Friday is past long since.

If a man would avoid contention, and look soberly on those words of St. Austin, he shall soon perceive the mystery of this matter. For even as the next Good Friday shall be called the day of Christ's passion; (and yet he shall not suffer death again upon that day, for he died but once, and is now immortal;) even so is the Sacrament called Christ's body. And as that day is not the very day that he died on, but only a remembrance thereof; so the Sacrament is not his very natural body, but only a remembrance of his body breaking and blood shedding. And likewise, as the next Easter day shall be called the day of his resurrection, not that it is the very same day that Christ did rise in, but a remembrance of the same; even so the Sacrament is called his body, not that it is his body indeed, but only a remembrance of the same. And furthermore, even as the priest doth offer him, that is to say, crucify him, at mass, even so is the Sacrament his body. But the Mass doth but only represent his passion; and so doth the Sacrament represent his body: and yet, though the Mass doth represent his crucifying, we may truly say he is crucified; even so, though the Sacrament do but signify or represent his body, yet may we truly say that it is his body. Why so? verily, saith he, for the Sacraments have a certain similitude of those things whereof they are Sacraments: and for this similitude, for the most part, they take the names of the very things. Blessed

Frith writeth of the Mass according to the common opinion that was at that time.

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be God, which hath so clearly discussed this matter by this faithful father. Notwithstanding, he doth yet express it more plainly, saying, after a certain manner the Sacrament of Christ's body is Christ's body. Behold, dear brethren, he saith, after a certain manner the Sacrament is Christ's body; and by that you may soon know that he never meant that it should be his very natural body indeed, but only a token and memorial to keep in memory the death of his body, and so to nourish our faith. Besides that, his similitude, which he afterwards allegeth of baptism, doth wholly expound this matter; for, saith he, The Apostle saith not we signify burying, but he saith, We are buried, and yet, indeed, the baptism doth but signify it. And thereupon St. Austin addeth, that he called the Sacrament of so great a thing, even with the name of the very thing itself; and likewise it is in our Sacrament. Finally, to be short, I will pass over many places which I have gathered out of this holy father, and will touch but this one more. St. Austin saith, *Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui. Et in eodem capite exponit. Sic est enim sanguis anima, quomodo petra erat Christus: nec tamen petra (ait) significabat Christum, sed ait petra erat Christus.* That is to say, The Lord doubted not to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body. And after, in the same chapter, he expoundeth it. For truly so the blood is soul, as Christ was the stone. And yet the Apostle saith not the stone did signify Christ, but he saith the stone was Christ.

After a certain manner the Sacrament of Christ's body is Christ's body.

August. contra Adamantum, cap. xii.

Christ gave to his Disciples the sign of his body.

Here St. Austin saith plainly that Christ called the sign of his body, his body; and in this chapter doth compare these three texts of Scripture, This is my body, the blood is the soul, and Christ was the stone, and declareth them to be one phrase, and to be expounded after one fashion. Now is there no man so mad as to say that Christ was a natural stone, except he be a natural fool,

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whose judgment we need not greatly to regard: therefore we may well conclude, that the Sacrament is not his natural body, but is called his body for a similitude that it hath, wherein it signifieth and representeth his body; and that the Sacrament of so great a thing is called even with the name of the very thing itself, as St. Austin said immediately before.

This were proof enough to conclude that all the old fathers did hold the same opinion; for who would once surmise, seeing we have St. Austin so plain for us, which is the chiefest among the mall—who would once surmise, I say, that he dissented in this great matter from the other faithful fathers, or they from him? Nevertheless, I dare not let him stand post alone, lest ye despise him; and therefore, I will show you the mind of certain other also: and first, of his master, St. Ambrose.

Ambros. super illud mortem Domini annuncia.

St. Ambrose, writing upon the Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, in the eleventh chapter, saith, *Quia enim morte Domini liberati sumus, hujus rei memores in edendo et potando, carnem et sanguinem quæ pro nobis oblata sunt significamus.* That is to say, Because we be delivered by the death of the Lord, being mindful of this thing, meaning of the Sacrament, we signify the flesh and blood which were offered for us. Here doth St. Ambrose say enough, if men were not sophists, but would be content with reason; for he saith, That in eating and drinking the Sacrament of Christ's body, we signify or represent the flesh and blood of our Saviour Jesus. Notwithstanding, because you are so slippery, we shall bind you a little better by this man's words.

Ambros. de sacra lib. 4, cap. 4.

St. Ambrose saith, *Sed forte dices speciem sanguinis non video. Sed habet similitudinis. Sicut enim mortis similitudinem sumpsisti, ita etiam similitudinem preciosi sanguinis bibis.* That is to say, But peradventure thou wilt say, I see no appearance of blood. But it hath a similitude; for even as thou hast taken the similitude of death, even so thou drinkest the similitude of the

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precious blood. Here may you see, by the conferring of these two Sacraments, what St. Ambrose judged of it; for he saith, Even as thou hast taken a similitude of his death in the Sacrament of baptism, so dost thou drink a similitude of his precious blood in the Sacrament of the altar; and yet, as St. Austin said before, the Apostle saith not, We signify burying, but saith, We are buried. And likewise, here Christ said not, This signifieth my body, but, This is my body; calling the Sacrament, sign, token, and memorial of so great a thing, even with the name of the very thing itself. Thus doth St. Ambrose choke our sophists. Nevertheless, I will allege one place more out of St. Ambrose, where he saith, *Dicit sacerdos, Fac nobis hanc oblationem scriptam rationabilem, quod est figura corporis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.* That is, The priest saith, Make us this oblation acceptable, &c. for it is a figure of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ. Here he calleth it plainly a figure of Christ's body, which thing you cannot avoid; therefore give praise unto God, and let his truth spread, which is so plainly testified by these holy fathers. Now let us see what St. Jerome saith.

Ambros. Lib. 4, de Sacramen. cap. 5.

The Sacrament is a figure of Christ's body.

St. Jerome, writing upon Ecclesiastes, saith on this manner: *Caro Domini verus cibus est, et sanguis ejus verus potus est: hoc solum habemus in præsenti sæculo bonum, si vescamur carne ejus cruoreq; potemur, non solùm in mysterio, sed etiam in scripturarum lectione: verus enim cibus est et potus, qui ex verbo Dei sumitur, scientia scripturarum est.* That is to say, The flesh of the Lord is very meat, and his blood is very drink. This is only the pleasure or profit that we have in this world, that we may eat his flesh and drink his blood, not only in a mystery, but also in the reading of Scriptures. For the very meat and drink, which is taken out of God's word, is the knowledge of Scriptures. Here may you see St. Jerome's mind in few words; for first, he

Hieroni. super Eccle cap. 3.

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We eat the very flesh of Christ, and drink his blood in a mystery.

saith, that we eat his flesh and drink his blood in a mystery, which is the Sacrament of his remembrance, and memorial of his passion; and after, he addeth, that we eat his flesh and drink his blood in the reading and knowledge of Scriptures, and calleth that very meat and very drink; and yet, I am sure, ye are not so gross, as to think that the letters which you read are turned into natural flesh and blood. And likewise, it is not necessary that the bread should be turned into his body, no more than the letters in Scripture are turned into his flesh. And nevertheless, through faith, we may as well eat his body in receiving of the Sacrament, as eat his flesh in reading of the letters of the Scripture. Besides that, St. Jerome calleth the understanding of the Scripture very meat and very drink; which you must needs understand in a mystery and spiritual sense; for it is neither material meat nor drink that is received with the mouth and teeth, but it is spiritual meat and drink, and is so called for a similitude and property; because that, as meat and drink comfort the body and outward man, so doth the reading and knowledge of Scripture comfort the soul and inward man. And likewise it is of Christ's body, which is called very meat and very drink, which you must needs understand in a mystery, or spiritual sense, as St. Jerome called it; for his body is no material meat nor drink, that is received with the mouth or teeth, but it is spiritual meat and drink, and so called for a similitude and property; because, that as meat and drink comforteth the body, so doth the faith in his body breaking and blood-shedding refresh the soul into life everlasting. We use it customably in our daily speech to say, when a child setteth all his mind and delight on sport and play, it is meat and drink to this child to play; and also, we say by a man that loveth well hawking and hunting, it is meat and drink to this man to hawk and hunt; where no man doubteth but it is a figu-

The understanding of the Scripture is very meat and very drink.

Christ's body is no material meat or drink.

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rative speech; and therefore I wonder that they are so blind in this one point of Christ's body, and cannot also take the words figuratively, as these old doctors did. Again, St. Jerome saith, *Postquam mysticum pascha fuerat impletum et agni carnes cum Apostolis comederat, assumit panem qui comfortat cor hominis, et ad verum paschæ transgreditur sacramentum, ut quomodo in præfiguratione ejus Melchisedech, summi Dei sacerdos, vinum et panem offerens fecerat, ipse quoque veritatem corporis et sanguinis repræsentaret.* That is to say, After the mystical Easter lamb fulfilled, and that Christ had eaten the lamb's flesh with the Apostles, he took bread, which comforteth the heart of man, and passeth to the true Sacrament of the Easter lamb; that, as Melchisedech brought forth bread and wine figuring him, so might he likewise represent the truth of his body and blood. Here doth St. Jerome speak after the manner that Tertullian did before: that Christ, with bread and wine, did represent the truth of his body; for, except he had had a true body, he could not leave a figure of it, nor represent it unto us; for a vain thing or fantasy can have no figure, nor cannot be represented: as, by example, How should a man make a figure of his dream, or represent it unto our memory? But Christ hath left us a figure and representation of his body in bread and wine, therefore it followeth that he had true body. And, that this was St. Jerome's mind, it doth manifestly appear by the words of Beda, which doth more copiously set out this saying of Jerome; for he writeth on this manner: *Finitis paschæ veteris solenniis quæ in commemorationem antiquæ de Ægypto liberationis agebantur, transit ad novum quod in suæ redemptionis memoriam Ecclesia frequentare desiderat, ut videlicet pro carne agni vel sanguine, suæ carnis sanguinisque sacramentum in panis ac vini figura substituens, ipsum se esse monstraret cui juravit Dominus et non pœnitebit eum, Tu es sacerdos in æternum se-*

Hieronimus super Matt. xxvi.

Where there is no true body, there can be no figure of the same.

Beda super Luke xxii.

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cundum ordinem Melchisedech. Frangit autem ipse panem quem porrigit, ut ostendat corporis sui fractionem non sine sua sponte futurum, &c. Et paulò post. Similiter et calicem, postquam cœnavit, dedit eis. Quia ergo panis carnem confirmat, vinum vero sanguinem operatur in carne, hic ad corpus Christi mystice, illud refertur ad sanguinem. That is to say, After the solemnity of the old Easter lamb was finished, which was observed in the remembrance of the old deliverance out of Egypt, he goeth unto the new, which the Church gladly observeth in the remembrance of his redemption, that he, in the stead of the flesh and blood of the lamb, might institute and ordain the Sacrament of his flesh and blood in the figure of bread and wine, and so declare himself to be the same unto whom the Lord sware, and will not repent, Thou art a perpetual priest after the order of Melchisedech. And he himself brake the bread which he gave, to show that the breaking of his body should not be done without his own will, &c. And a little after, And likewise, he gave them the cup after he had supped. And because bread doth confirm, or strengthen the flesh, and wine worketh blood in the flesh, therefore is the bread mystically referred unto the body of Christ, and the wine referred unto his blood.

Bread and wine is mystically referred to the body and blood of Christ.

Here you may note first, that as the lamb was a remembrance of their deliverance out of Egypt, and yet the lamb delivered them not; so is the Sacrament a remembrance of our redemption, and yet the Sacrament redeemed us not. Besides that, he saith that Christ, in the stead of the flesh and blood of the lamb, did institute the Sacrament of his flesh and blood in figure of bread and wine. Mark well; he saith not that in the stead of lamb's flesh and blood he did institute his own flesh and blood, but saith that he did institute the Sacrament of his flesh and blood. What thing is a Sacrament? verily, it is the sign of a holy thing, and there is no difference between a sign and a

A Sacrament, what it is.

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Sacrament, but that the sign is referred unto a worldly thing, and a Sacrament unto a spiritual, or holy thing. As St. Austin saith, *Signa (cum ad res divinas pertinent) sacramenta appellantur.* That is to say, Signs, when they pertain unto godly things, are called Sacraments. Therefore, when Beda saith that they did institute the Sacrament of his flesh and blood in the figure of bread and wine, it is as much to say, by St. Austin's definition, as that he did institute the figure of his holy flesh and blood in the figure of bread and wine; that is to say, that bread and wine should be the figure and sign representing his holy flesh and blood unto us for a perpetual remembrance. And afterward, he declareth the propriety for which the bread is called the body, and the wine the blood; saying, (he speaketh not so darkly as I now do, but plainly saith,) that the bread is mystically referred unto the body of Christ; because, that as bread doth strengthen the flesh, so Christ's body, which is figured by the bread, doth strengthen the soul, through faith in his death; and so doth he clearly prove my purpose.

Ad Marcellum.

Bread and wine represent unto us the flesh and blood of Christ.

Now let us see what Chrysostom saith, which shall describe us the faith of the old Grecians, and, I doubt not, he had not lost the true faith, howsoever the world go now-a-days. Chrysostom saith in this manner, *Si enim mortuus Jesus non est, cujus signum et symbolum hoc sacrificium est? vides quantum ei studium fuerit ut semper memoria teneamus pro nobis ipsum mortuum fuisse.* That is to say, For if Jesus have not died, whose memorial and sign is the sacrifice? Thou seest what diligence he gave, that we should continually keep in memory that he died for us. Here you may see, that Chrysostom calleth the Sacrament *symbolum et signum*, that is to say, a memorial, or sign of Christ, and that it was institute to keep his death in perpetual remembrance. But of one thing thou must beware, or else thou art deceived; he calleth

Chrysostom super Matt. xxvi.

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Sacrifice. it also a sacrifice, and there thou must wisely understand him; for if it were the sacrifice of Christ's body, then must Christ's body be slain there again, which thing God forbid. And therefore thou must understand him, when he calleth it a sacrifice, that he meaneth it to be a remembrance of that holy sacrifice where Christ's body was offered on the cross once for all; for he can be sacrificed no more, seeing he is immortal. Notwithstanding our prelates will here note me of presumption, that I dare be so bold to expound his mind on this fashion—for, indeed, they take him otherwise, and think that it is a very sacrifice—and therefore I will bring one other text, where Chrysostom shall expound himself. Chrysostom saith, *Nonne per singulos dies offerimus? offerimus quidem, sed ad recordationem mortis ejus facientes, &c. Et paulo post. Non aliud sacrificium (sicut pontifex) sed id ipsum semper facimus; magis autem recordationem sacrificii operamur.* That is to say, Do we not daily offer, or do sacrifice? Yes, surely; but we do it for the remembrance of his death. For this sacrifice is an example of that we offer; not another sacrifice, as the bishops in the old law did, but ever the same, yea, rather a remembrance of the sacrifice. First he saith, that they daily do sacrifice, but it is in remembrance of Christ's death; then he saith, that the sacrifice is an example of that. Thirdly, he saith, that they offer not another sacrifice; that is to say, an ox or a goat, as the bishops of the old law, but ever the same. Mark this point; for though it seem at the first sight to make with them, yet doth it make so directly against them, that they shall never be able to avoid it. Chrysostom saith, they do not offer another sacrifice, as the bishops did, but ever the same. They offer other bread and wine this day than they did yesterday; they shall say another mass to-morrow than they did this day. Now, if this bread and wine, or the mass, be a sacrifice, then do they offer another sacrifice, as

Christ's body a Sacrifice, offered on the cross once for all.

Chrysostom ad Hebr. Hom. 17.

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well as the bishops of the old law: for this sacrifice did signify that Christ should come and shed his blood, as well as the bread, wine, and mass do represent that he hath done it indeed: and, therefore, if it be a sacrifice, then do they offer another sacrifice representing his passion, as well as the bishop of the old law; but that doth Chrysostom deny, and saith that they offer every day the same. What same? Verily, even the same that was done and sacrificed when Christ shed his blood. In this sacrifice is Christ bound and buffeted, and led from Annas to Caiaphas; he is brought to Pilate and condemned; he is scourged and crowned with thorns, and nailed on the cross, and his heart opened with a spear, and so sheds his blood for our redemption. Why, Chrysostom, and do you the self-same sacrifice every day? Yea, verily. Then why doth St. Paul say, that Christ is risen from death, and dieth no more? If he die no more, how do you daily crucify him? Forsooth, Paul saith truth; for we do not actually, indeed, but only in a mystery; and yet we say that we do sacrifice him, and that this is his sacrifice, for the celebration of the Sacrament and memory of the passion which we keep. And for this cause it hath the name of the thing that it doth represent and signify, and therefore I expound my mind by a rhetorical correction, and say, *magis recordationem sacrificii*; that is to say, yea, rather the remembrance of the sacrifice. Grant mercies, good Chrysostom, now do I perceive the pith of this matter; even as the mass is the very death and passion of Christ, so is it a sacrifice. Now it doth but only represent the very death and passion of Christ, therefore it doth follow that the mass in very deed doth but only represent a sacrifice. And yet, notwithstanding, many times it is called a sacrifice of holy doctors, and hath the name of the very same thing that it doth represent and signify. And even so we may say of this Sacrament, that as the mass is the very sacrifice and passion of Christ, so is

The Sacrifice that we offer in bread and wine, is the remembrance of Christ's death.

Rom. vi.

As St. Austin declareth afore, *ad Bonifacium.*

The mass is called a Sacrifice, because it representeth the death and passion of Christ, that was sacrificed on the cross.

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the Sacrament his very body and sacrifice that is offered. Now the mass doth but only represent and signify the passion, so the Sacrament doth but only represent and signify the body and very sacrifice once offered for ever. Notwithstanding, many times the mass is called a sacrifice of holy doctors, and so the Sacrament is called the body and a sacrifice, and hath the name of the very same thing that it doth represent and signify.

Chrysostom super Matt. xxvi.

Furthermore Chrysostom saith, *Ipse quoque bibit ex eo, ne auditis verbis illis dicerent, Quid igitur sanguinem bibimus et carnem comedimus? ac ideo perturbarentur. Nam et quando prius de his verba fecit, multi solummodo propter verba scandalum passi sunt. Ne igitur tunc id quoque accideret, primus ipse hoc fecit, ut tranquillo animo ad communicationem mysteriorum induceret.* That is to say, He also drank of it, lest, when they heard his words, they should say, Why do we then drink blood and eat flesh? and so should be troubled. For when he spake before of those things, many of them were offended with his words. And because that should not now also chance, he himself drank first of it, that he might cause them to come without fear to the partaking of those mysteries. Here Chrysostom noteth that Christ drank of it to draw them from the gross understanding of his words, and by his drinking to testify unto them that it was not his natural blood, nor his natural flesh indeed, but only memorials and representations of his body and blood. And therefore he called them mysteries; that is to say, Sacraments: for in this place a Sacrament and a mystery is all one thing, notwithstanding sometimes this word mystery is more common and large in signifying than this word Sacrament; and I have showed you before, that a Sacrament is the sign of an holy thing itself, that it representeth; albeit, sometimes it bears the name of the very thing itself, as the image of St. Peter is not St. Peter himself, and yet it beareth his name.

Christ, by drinking of the cup, did show the mystery, and that it was no natural nor carnal blood.

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Chrysostom saith, *Caro non prodest quicquid: hoc est, secundum spiritum verba mea audienda sunt. Qui secundum carnem audit, nihil lucratur, nihil utilitatis accipit. Et paulo post. Quid est autem carnaliter intelligere? simpliciter ut res dicuntur, neque aliud quippiam excogitare. Mysteria omnia interioribus oculis consideranda sunt, hoc est spiritualiter.* That is to say, The flesh profiteth nothing: that is, my words must be understood after the spirit; he that understandeth them after the flesh winneth nothing, nor taketh any profit. And a little after, What meaneth this, to understand after the flesh or carnally? verily to take the things simply as they are spoken, and to think no other thing. All mysteries or Sacraments must be considered with the inward eyes, that is to say, spiritually.

Super Joh. cap. 6. Hom. 46.

All mysteries must be considered spiritually.

And after, he expoundeth himself in this manner. *Interiores autem oculi ut panem viderint, creaturas transvolant, et non de illo pane à pistore cocto cogitant: sed de eo qui dixit se panem vitæ, qui per mysticum panem significatur.* That is to say, The inward eyes, as soon as they see the bread, they pass over the creatures; and think not of that bread which is baken of the baker, but of him that called himself the bread of life, which is signified by the mystical or sacramental bread. Would you have him say any more? He telleth you plain, that Christ, which is the very bread of life, is signified by this sacramental bread; and that is the thing which our bishops so fleshly deny now-a-days, which thing yet you may see the old fathers conclude with one assent: notwithstanding, yet I will allege more old doctors, so that from henceforward they may be ashamed to call it new learning.

The plain saying of Chrysostom.

Fulgentius saith, *In illis enim carnalibus (tempore legis) victimis, significatio fuit carnis Christi, quam pro peccatis nostris et ipse sine peccato fuerat oblaturus, et sanguinis quem erat effusurus in remissionem peccatorum nostrorum. In isto autem sacrificio gratiarum actio*

Fulgentius, 2 Lib. de fide.

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atque commemoratio est carnis Christi quam pro nobis obtulit, et sanguinis quem pro nobis idem Deus effudit. That is to say, In these carnal sacrifices, in the time of the law, was a signification of the flesh of Christ, which he without sin should offer for our sins, and of the blood which he should shed out in remission of our sins. But in this sacrifice is a thanksgiving and remembrance of the flesh of Christ, which he offered for us, and of the blood which the same God shed out for us. First note that he calleth it a sacrifice, which, notwithstanding, is but a remembrance of that sacrifice offered on the cross once for all, as it is proved before out of Chrysostom. Then he plainly calleth it a thanksgiving and remembrance of Christ's flesh and blood; and so concludeth with us. Nevertheless, because sophisters would soon think to avoid this place, I will allege one other saying of the same author, which they shall never be able to avoid.

The Sacrament of Christ's body is a thanksgiving.

Fulgentius. Fulgentius saith, as Haymo testifieth, *Hic calix novum Testamentum est: id est, Hic calix quem vobis trado, novum Testamentum significat.* That is to say, This cup or chalice is the New Testament: that is, This cup or chalice, which I deliver you, doth signify the New Testament. In this place he doth plainly show his mind, which cannot be avoided. For even as the cup is the New Testament, so is the bread the body. Now the cup doth but signify the New Testament, and therefore I may conclude that the bread doth but signify the body.

This cup is the New Testament, inasmuch as this cup signifieth the New Testament.

Eusebius. Eusebius saith, *Quia corpus assumptum ablaturus erat ex oculis nostris et sideribus allaturus, necessarium erat ut nobis in hac die sacramentum corporis et sanguinis consecraret, ut coleretur jugiter per mysterium quod semel offerabatur in precium.* That is to say, Because he would take away out of our eyes the body that he took, and carry it into heaven, it was necessary that in this time he should consecrate to us the Sacra-

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ment of his body and blood, that that which was once offered for the price of our redemption, might continually be honoured through the mystery.

To consecrate a thing, is to apply it unto an holy use. Here you may see that he calleth it the Sacrament of his body and blood, which body is carried up in the heaven: and also he calleth it a mystery, which is enough for them that will see. Consecrate.

Also Druthmarius expoundeth these words, This is my body, in this manner: *Hoc est corpus meum in mysterio.* That is to say: This is my body in a mystery. I think you know what a mystery meaneth; Christ is crucified every day in a mystery: that is to say, every day his death is represented by the Sacraments of remembrance. The mass is Christ's passion in a mystery: that is to say, the mass doth represent his passion, and keepeth it in our memory. The bread is Christ's body in a mystery: that is to say, it representeth his body that was broken for us, and keepeth it in our remembrance. Druthmarius.

You have heard already the mind of the doctors, how the Sacrament is Christ's body, and now I shall show you how the Sacrament is our body, which doth not a little help to the understanding of these words which are in controversy. The Sacrament of the altar is our body as well as it is Christ's body; and even as it is our body, so is it Christ's. But there is no man that can say that it is our natural body indeed, but only a figure, sign, memorial, or representation of our body; wherefore it must also follow, that it is but only a figure, sign, memorial, or representation of Christ's body. The first part of this argument may thus be proved. St. Austin, writing in a sermon, saith on this manner, *Corpus ergo Christi si vultis intelligere, apostolum audite dicentem, Vos estis corpus Christi et membra,* 1 *Cor. xii. Si ergo estis corpus Christi et membra, mysterium vestrumque in mensa Domini positum est,* The Sacrament, how it is our body. *Augustinus in sermone ad infantes.*

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mysterium Domini accipitis, ad id quod estis, Amen respondetis, et respondendo subscribitis. That is to say, If you will understand the body of Christ, hear the apostle, which saith, Ye are the body of Christ and members, 1 Cor. xii. Therefore, if ye be the body of Christ's members, your mystery is put upon the Lord's table; ye receive the mystery of the Lord unto that you are; you answer Amen; and in answering subscribe unto it. Here may you see that the Sacrament is also our body, and yet is not our natural body, but only our body in a mystery: that is to say, a figure, sign, memorial, or representation of our body; for as the bread is made of many grains or corns, so we (though we be many) are one bread and one body. And for this property and similitude it is called our body, and beareth the name of the very thing which it doth represent and signify.

Aug. in sermo. de sacra feria paschæ.

Again, St. Austin saith, *Quia Christus passus est pro nobis, commendavit nobis in isto sacramento corpus et sanguinem suum, quod etiam fecit et nos ipsos. Nam et nos ipsius corpus facti sumus, et per misericordiam ipsius quod accipimus nos sumus. Et postea dicit. Jam in nomine Christi tanquam ad calicem Domini venistis, ibi vos estis in mensa, et ibi vos estis in calice.* That is, Because Christ hath suffered for us, he hath betaken unto us in this Sacrament his body and blood, which he hath also made even ourselves: for we also are made his body, and by his mercy we are even the same thing that we receive. And after he saith, Now in the name of Christ ye are come, as a man would say, to the chalice of the Lord, there are ye upon the table, and there are ye in the chalice. Here you may see that the Sacrament is our body; and yet it is not our natural body, but only in a mystery, as it is before said.

Here you may see that the Sacrament is our body.

August. de sacra feria paschæ.

Furthermore, St. Austin saith: *Hunc itaque cibum et potum societatem vult intelligi corporis et membrorum suorum, quod est sancta ecclesia in prædestinatis, et vocatis, et justificatis, et glorificatis sanctis et fidelibus ejus. Hujus*

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rei sacramentum alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis intervallis dierum in dominico preparatur, et de mensa Domini sumitur, quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium. Res vero ipsa cujus est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicunque ejus particeps fuerit." That is to say, He wills that this meat and drink should be understood to be the fellowship of his body and members, which is the holy Church in the predestinate, and called, and justified, and glorified, his saints and faithful. The Sacrament of this thing is prepared in some place daily, and in some place at certain appointed days, as on the Sunday; and it is received from the table of the Lord, to some unto life, and to some unto destruction; but the thing itself, whose Sacrament this is, is received of all men unto life, and of no man to destruction, whosoever is partaker of it. Here doth St. Austin first say, that this Sacrament is the fellowship of his body and members, which are we; and yet it is not our natural body, as is before said. And then he saith, that the Sacrament of this thing is received of some unto life and salvation, and of some unto death and damnation, for both faithful and unfaithful may receive the Sacrament. And after he saith, that the thing itself, whose Sacrament it is, is received of all men unto life, and of no man unto destruction, whosoever is partaker of it. And of this saying it must needs follow, that only the faithful eat Christ's body, and the unfaithful eat not: for he is received of no man unto destruction. And of this it must also follow, that the Sacrament is not Christ's body indeed, but only in a mystery; for if the Sacrament were his natural body, then should it follow, that the unfaithful should receive his body, which is contrary to the mind of St. Austin, and against all truth. Thus have we sufficiently proved the first part of our argument, that the Sacrament is our body, as well as it is Christ's. And now will I prove the second part more plainly, although it be

St. Austin calleth it by the name of Sacrament, meaning the figure, sign, or token of Christ's body, &c.

The wicked and unfaithful do not receive the body of Christ, and yet they receive the Sacrament to their damnation.

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enough declared already, to them that have ears, that even as it is our body, so is it Christ's.

The Sacrament, as it is our body, so it is Christ's.

First, you shall understand, that in the wine, which is called Christ's blood, is admixed water, which doth signify the people that are redeemed with his blood; so that the head, which is Christ, is not without his body, which is the faithful people, nor the body without his head. Now, if the wine, when it is consecrated, be turned bodily into Christ's blood, then is it also necessary that the water, which is admixed, be bodily turned into the blood of the faithful people; for whereas is one consecration, must follow one operation; and whereas is like reason, there must follow like mystery. But whatsoever is signified by the water, as concerning the faithful people, is taken spiritually; therefore, whatsoever is spoken of the blood in the wine, must also needs be taken spiritually. This reason is not mine, but it is made by one Bartram upon a 700 years since, when this matter was first in disputation. Whereupon, at the instance of great Charles the Emperor, he made a book, professing even the same thing that I do, and proveth by the old doctors and faithful fathers, that the Sacrament is Christ's body in a mystery, that is to say, a sign, figure, or memorial, of his body, which was broken for us, and not his natural body. And therefore that doctrine is new, which otherwise teacheth, and not mine, which is not mine, but the doctrine of Christ, and of the old fathers of Christ's church, till Antichrist began to sit and reign in the temple of God.

Note well this argument.

Bartram.

The Sacrament is Christ's body in a mystery.

Cyprianus ad Cecilium.

Besides that, Cyprian saith, that the people is annexed in the Sacrament through the mixture of water. Therefore I marvel me much that they are so contentious, and will not see, that as the water is the people, so the wine is Christ's blood; that is to say, in a mystery; because it representeth Christ's blood, as the water doth the people.

As water is the people, so wine is Christ's blood.

Eusebius.

Furthermore, Eusebius saith, *Dum in sacramentis*

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vino aqua miscetur, Christo fidelis populus incorporatur et jungitur, et quadam ei copula perfecta charitatis unitur. That is to say, While in the Sacrament water is admixed with the wine, the faithful people is incorporate and joined with Christ, and is made one with him, with a certain knot of perfect charity. Now, where he saith, that we are joined and incorporate with Christ, what fondness were it to contend, since we are there only in a mystery, and not naturally,—to contend, I say, with such pertinacity, that his natural body must be there; and not rather that he is joined with us, as we are joined with him, and both in a mystery, by the knot of perfect charity.

By the mixture of water, the faithful people are incorporate with Christ.

"The young man perceiveth well enough, that an allegory used in some places is not a cause sufficient to leave the proper significations of God's word in every other place, and seek an allegory, and forsake the plain common sense. For he confesseth, that he would not so do, save for necessity: because, as he saith, that the common literal sense is impossible. For the thing, he saith, that is meant thereby cannot be true; that is, to wit, that the very body of Christ can be in the Sacrament, because the Sacrament is in many divers places at once, and was at the Maundy: that is, to wit, in the hands of Christ, and every of his Apostles mouths. And at that time it was not glorified. And then he saith, that Christ's body not being glorified, could no more be in two places at once, than his own can. And yet he goeth after farther, and saith, No more it can when it is glorified too. And that he proveth by the saying of St. Austin, whose words be, that the body with which Christ arose, must be in one place, &c." M. More.

Hitherto hath M. More reasoned reasonably: but now he beginneth to decline from the dignity of divinity into the dirty dregs of vain sophistry; for where I say, that I must of necessity seek an allegory, because the literal Frith.

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sense is impossible, and cannot be true; meaning that it cannot stand with the process of scripture, but that other texts do of necessity constrain me to construe it spiritually; there catcheth he this word can, and this word impossible, and would make men believe that I meant it could not be true, because reason cannot reach it, but thinketh it impossible. And there he triumpheth before the victory, and would know what article of our faith I could assign, in which reason shall not drive away the strength of my proof, and make me leave the literal sense, wherein my proof should stand, and send me to seek an allegory that might stand with reason, and drive away the faith. But now, dear brethren, since I speak not of the impossibility of reason, but of the impossibility to stand with other texts of Scripture, ye may see that this royal reason is not worth a rush. Then would he fain know the place where St. Austin so saith, which thing, although it were hard for me to tell, since I have not his books to look for it; yet, I thank God, my memory is not so bad, but I can show him where he shall find it. And because I think that he is more accustomed to the Pope's laws than to St. Austin's works, since he is become the prelate's proctor and patron, I say he shall not fail but find it in his laws *de consecratione*. And whereas he would wrest the words of St. Austin, which saith, that the body in which Christ arose must needs be in one place: saying, that he might mean, not that his body might not be in divers places at once, but that it must be in one place; that is to say, in some one place or other. "He speaketh," says M. More, "nothing of the Sacrament, nor saith not his body, with which he rose, must needs be in one place, that it can by no possibility be in any more." This seemeth to some a goodly gloss, and yet it shall prove but a vain evasion; for if a man would say that the King's grace's body must be in one place, and then

More is a captious sophister, a subtle poet, and a malicious Papist.

More is better acquainted with the Pope's laws than with St. Austin's works.

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another would expound that, notwithstanding his words, his grace's body might be in two places at once; I think men might soon judge that he delighted to delay, and might say, What need he to determine that he must be in one place, except he thought, indeed, that he might be in no more but only one? And though men might so argue on other men's words, yet of St. Austin's words this must needs follow, for he bringeth them in (as God would) by a contrary antithesis, saying: *Corpus in quo resurrexit in uno loco esse oportet, veritas autem ejus ubique diffusa est.* That is to say, His body, wherein he rose, must be in one place, but his truth is dispersed in all places. Where he plainly concludeth by the contrary antithesis, that as his truth is dispersed in all places, so must his body needs be in one place only. As by example, if a man should say, the King's grace's body must needs be in one place, but his power is throughout his realm. Where no man doubteth, but that in saying one place, he meaneth one place only; and, therefore, though in some place the word 'must' doth not signify such a necessity as excludeth all possibility, yet in this place it doth so signify, as the contrary antithesis doth evidently express.

Ad Hieronimum.

Christ's body occupieth one place only.

And where ye say, that he speaketh nothing of the Sacrament, I would ye should stick still to that saying. For this is plain, that he speaketh of his natural body; and therefore, if he speak not of the Sacrament, then have you concluded that the Sacrament is not his natural body; the contrary whereof you would have me believe. Thus have I showed evidence, both where he shall find the words of St. Austin, and also that I have rightly alleged them.

Notwithstanding, since he maketh so much of his painted sheath, I shall allege him more authority that Christ's natural body is in one place only; which thing proved, doth utterly conclude that the Sacrament is not

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his natural body, but only a memorial, and a representation of the same. And first let us see St. Austin's mind.

August. ad Dardanum.

St. Austin, writing unto Dardanus, doth plainly prove that the natural body of Christ must needs be in one place only, and also that his soul can be but in one place at once. The occasion of his epistle is this: Dardanus did write unto St. Austin for the exposition of those words that Christ spake unto the thief, saying, This day shalt thou be with me in paradise; and wist not how he should understand it: whether Christ meant that the thief should be in paradise with Christ's soul, or with his body, or with his Godhead? Thereupon St. Austin writeth, that as touching Christ's body, that day it was in the sepulchre; and saith, that it was not paradise, although it were in a garden that he was buried; for Christ, he saith, meant of a place of joy; and that was not, saith St. Austin, in his sepulchre. And as for Christ's soul, it was that day in hell, and no man will say that paradise was there. Wherefore, saith St. Austin, the text must needs be understood that Christ spake it of his Godhead. Now mark this argument of St. Austin, and ye shall see my purpose plainly proved; for, seeing he expoundeth this text upon Christ's Godhead, because his manhood, as touching the body, was in the grave, and as touching his soul, was in hell; you may soon perceive that St. Austin thought, that whilst his body was in the grave, it was not in paradise too; and because his soul was in hell, it could not be in paradise also; and, therefore, he verifieth the text upon his divinity. For if he had thought that Christ's body, or soul, might have been in divers places at once, he would not have said, that the text must needs be understood of his divinity; but it might full well, yea and much better, have been understood of his manhood. Mark well this place, which doth determine the doubt of this matter. Notwithstanding, the faithful father

What Christ meant by this word Paradise.

How St. Austin laboureth to prove that Christ's body might not be in more places at once than in one.

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leaveth not the matter on this fashion, but also taketh away such fond imagination as would cause men to surmise that Christ's body should be in more places at once than one. For he saith: *Cavendum est ne ita divinitatem astruamus hominis, ut veritatem auferamus corporis. Non est autem consequens ut quod in Deo est, ita sit ubique. Nam et de nobis veracissime Scriptura dicit, quod in illo vivimus, movemur, et sumus. Nec tamen sicut ille, ubique sumus, sed aliter homo ille in Deo, quoniam et aliter Deus in illo homine, proprio quodam et singulari modo. Una enim persona Deus et homo est, et utrumque est unus Christus Jesus, ubique per id quod Deus est, in cœlo autem per id quod homo.* That is to say, We must beware that we do not so affirm the divinity of the man, that we take away the truth of his body. For it followeth not, that the thing which is in God, should be in every place as God is. For the Scripture doth truly testify on us, that we live, move, and be in him. And yet are we not in every place as he is: howbeit, that man is otherwise in God, and God otherwise in that man, by a certain peculiar and singular way; for God and man is one person, and both of them one Christ Jesus, which is in every place, in that he is God, and in heaven, in that he is man. Here St. Austin doth say, that if we should grant Christ to be in all places, as touching his manhood, we should take away the truth of his body; for though his manhood be in God, and God in his manhood, yet it followeth not that it should be in every place, as God is; and after, he concludeth that, as touching his Godhead, he is in every place, and as touching his manhood, he is in heaven. What need he to make these words and antithesis, but because he thought, verily, that though his Godhead were in every place, yet his manhood was in heaven only?

If we affirm that the body of Christ is in many places at one instant, then we should take away the truth of his body.

But yet this holy doctor goeth farther, so that they may be ashamed of their part, and saith, *Secundum hominem namque in terra erat, non in cœlo (ubi nunc*

August. ibidem.

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est), *quando dicebat, Nemo ascendit in cœlum nisi qui descendit de cœlo, Filius hominis qui est in cœlo.* That is to say, As touching his manhood, he was in the earth, and not in heaven (where he now is), when he said, No man ascendeth into heaven but he that descended from heaven, the Son of man, which is in heaven. Now I trust you will be content, and let the truth spread, for I am sure it is not possible for you to avoid it; for he saith that, as touching his manhood, he was in the earth, and not in heaven, when he spake those words; and so proved that he was not in more places at once than only one place: for else, if St. Austin had thought that he could have been in more places at once than one with his body, then might he not have said, that he was in earth and not in heaven. For then a man might soon have deluded him, and have said, Austin, you cannot tell, for he may be in every place. But they that so think, after St. Austin's mind, do take away the truth of his natural body, and make it a very fantastical body: from the which heresy God deliver his faithful! Besides this, St. Austin doth say, *Christum Dominum nostrum, unigenitum Dei filium, equalem patri, eundemque hominis filium, quo major est pater, et ubique totum presentem esse non dubites tanquam Deum, et in eodem templo Dei esse verum Deum, et in aliena parte cœli propter corporis modum.* That is to say, Doubt not but that Christ our Lord, the only begotten Son of God, equal to the Father, and the same being the son of man, wherein the Father is greater, is whole present in all places as touching his Godhead, and dwelleth in the same temple of God as God, and in some place of heaven for the condition of his very body. Here is it evident by St. Austin's words, that as touching his Godhead he is in all places, and as touching his manhood he is only in heaven; yea, and not that only, but that he being in heaven, as touching the measure, nature, condition, and quality of his natural body, is only in one certain place

Christ, as touching his Godhead, is in all places.

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in heaven, and not in many places at once. Thus much is proved out of St. Austin.

This truth is not only proved by St. Austin's authority, but also by the noble clerk Fulgentius, which writeth in this manner. *Unus idemque homo localis ex homine, qui est Deus immensus ex patre, unus idemque secundum humanam substantiam absens cœlo cum esset in terra, et derelinquens terram cum ascendisset in cœlum; secundum divinam vero immensamque substantiam, nec cœlum dimittens cum de cœlo descendit, nec terram deserens, cum ad cœlum ascendit: Quod ipsius Domini certissimo sermone potest cognosci, qui ut localem ostenderet suam humanitatem, dicit discipulis suis: Ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum, Deum meum et Deum vestrum: De Lazaro quoque cum dixisset, Lazarus mortuus est; adjunxit dicens, Et gaudeo propter vos (ut credatis) quoniam non eram ibi. Immensitatem vero suæ divinitatis ostendens discipulis dicit: Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem sæculi. Quomodo autem ascendit in cœlum nisi quia localis et verus est homo? aut quomodo adest fidelibus suis, nisi quia idem immensus et verus Deus est?* That is to say, The same one man is local (that is to say, contained in one place), as touching his manhood, which is also God unmeasurable from the father: the same one man, as touching the substance of his manhood, was absent from heaven, when he was in earth, and forsaking the earth, when he ascended into heaven; but as touching his godly and unmeasurable substance, neither forsook heaven when he descended from heaven, nor forsook the earth when he ascended unto heaven: Which may be known by the most sure word of the Lord, which, to show his humanity to be local (that is to say, contained in one place only), did say unto his disciples, I ascend unto my father and your father, my God and your God: of Lazarus also, when he said, Lazarus is dead, he said farther, I am glad for your

Fulgentius.

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sakes (that you may believe) for that I was not there. And again, showing the unmeasurableness of his Godhead, he said unto his disciples, Behold I am with you unto the world's end. How did he ascend into heaven, but because he is local and a very man? or how is he present unto his faithful, but because he is unmeasurable and very God? Here may you conclude, by the authority of this doctor also, that Christ's body is only in one place at once; for he saith, that Christ, as touching his manhood, is local: that is to say, contained in one place only; and that he proveth by the Scripture, even of Christ's own words. Now if this be true (as my conscience doth testify, howsoever other men shall judge,) then must it needs follow that his natural body cannot be in the Sacrament; and the authority, I am sure, no man can avoid, it is so plain.

Christ ascended into heaven, because he is local and a very man.

More. "Now as for his natural reasons be not worthy the reasoning. For, first, that the body of Christ, unglorified, could no more be in two places at once than his own can, because he is a natural body, as he is: I will not examine no comparison between their two bodies; but if Christ would tell me that he would each of both their bodies to be in fifteen places at once, I would believe him, and would never ask him whether he would first glorify them or not. But I am sure, glorified or unglorified, if he said it, he is able to do it; for the matter is not impossible to God."

Frith. Truth it is, that if Christ so said, and in so saying so meant, there is no doubt but he were able so to do; but that he indeed so grossly meant, ye shall never prove. And, indeed, if he had so meant that his own body natural should have continued in the Sacrament, which is the meat of the soul through faith, and not of the body by eating it, and may as well be eaten through faith, although it remain in heaven, as if it were here present to our mouths: if, I say, he had so meant, then would he never have given us such Scriptures as he

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did: for I say that this gross imagination may not stand with the process of the Scripture which is received, as it shall appear by certain texts.

1. First, where our Saviour saith, The flesh profiteth nothing. The weight of those words doth compel us to understand our matter spiritually; for by this short sentence we are no less plucked back from the carnal eating, than was Nicodemus, that he should not once dream of the carnal regeneration, when Christ said unto him, that whatsoever was of the flesh was flesh. For this is a plain conclusion, that when Christ said, The flesh profiteth nothing, he meant it even of his own flesh, that it could not profit (as they understood him) to be eaten with the teeth; albeit it doth much profit to be slain for our redemption, and eaten through faith: which thing we may do, although his natural flesh be not in the Sacrament; for I may as well believe in him, though he be in heaven, as if he were in earth, and in the Sacrament, and before mine eyes. And that Christ spake these words of his own body, it is plain by St. Austin's words, writing upon the same place: and therefore he saith, that they must be understood spiritually; and addeth, If thou understand them spiritually, they are spirit and life; and though thou understand them carnally, yet, nevertheless, they are spirit and life; but unto thee they are not spirit and life, which understandest not spiritually those things that I have spoken.

The flesh profiteth nothing.

The flesh of Christ profiteth much, if it be eaten with faith.

August. tract. super 6 Joan.

Also Athanasius saith: *Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro non prodest quicquam: verba quæ ego locutus sum, spiritus sunt et vita. Nam et hoc loco utrumque de seipso dicit carnem et spiritum; et spiritum ab eo quod est secundum carnem distinxit, ut non solum visibile, sed etiam invisibile quod in ipso erat credentes discant, quod et ea quæ dicit nom sunt carnalia, sed spiritualia. Quod enim comedentibus suffecisset corpus, ut totius mundi alimonia fiat? Sed ea propter meminit ascensûs Filii hominis in*

Athanasius 3. lib. qui dix. verb.

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cœlum, ut illos à corporali cogitatione avelleret, et posthac discant carnem dictam cibum cœlestem superne venientem et spiritualem alimoniam quam ipse det. Nam Quæ locutus sum (inquit) vobis spiritus sunt et vita. That is to say, It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words which I speak unto you are spirit and life. For in this place also he meaneth both of his own flesh and his own spirit; and he divideth the spirit from the flesh, that they might know, through faith, not only the visible part, but also the invisible part that was in him, and also that the words which he spake were not carnal, but spiritual. For what body should have sufficed to have been the meat of all the world? And even, therefore, did he make mention of the ascension of the Son of man into heaven, that he might withdraw them from the bodily imagination, that they might hereafter learn, that the flesh was called heavenly meat, which cometh from above, and spiritual meat, which he would give. For, saith Christ, the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and life. Here you may see that Christ spake it of his own flesh, and meant plainly that it did nothing profit, as infidels did understand him; for else it giveth life, as it is received of the faithful in a mystery. For, as Bartram saith, in this mystery of the body and blood, is a spiritual operation, which giveth life; without the which operation, those mysteries do nothing profit; for surely, saith he, they may feed the body, but the soul they cannot feed.

Bartram.

The bread and wine in the Sacrament, why they are called mysterious?

2. Besides that the Scripture saith, That, that entereth in by the mouth, doth not defile a man; for, as Christ saith, it is cast forth into the draught. And by the same reason it followeth that it doth not sanctify or make a man holy. But the Sacrament entereth in by the mouth, therefore it doth follow that of itself it doth not sanctify or make holy; and of this text should follow two inconveniences, if the Sacrament were the natural body of Christ. First, it should follow that the

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body of Christ should not sanctify the faithful, because it entereth in by the mouth; and again it should follow, that the body of Christ should be cast out into the draught, which thing is abominable; wherefore it must needs follow, that the Sacrament cannot be his natural body.

If the Sacrament of the body of Christ were his natural body, then note what inconveniences must follow.

3. Furthermore, Christ would not suffer that devout woman, which of love sought him at his sepulchre, to touch his natural body, because she lacked a point of faith, and did not count him to be equal with his Father. And much more it shall follow, that the wicked which have no faith nor love towards him, shall not be suffered to eat his flesh with their teeth, and swallow it into their unclean bodies, for that were much more than to touch him; and yet, notwithstanding, they receive and eat the Sacrament. Whereupon it should follow, if the Sacrament were his natural body, that they should, indeed, eat his body, which thing may be counted a blasphemy against God. Moreover, Christ saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Now we know right well, that the wicked do eat the Sacrament, and yet neither dwell in Christ, nor Christ in them; wherefore, it must follow, that the Sacrament is not the very flesh of Christ. And surely I cannot excuse them of blasphemy, which so directly do contrary Christ's words.

The wicked may not, nor cannot, eat the body of Christ.

The wicked eat the Sacrament, but yet dwell not in Christ.

How can you avoid these texts which Christ speaketh unto his disciples, saying, Yet a little while am I with you, and then I depart to him that sent me. And again, It is expedient for you that I depart; for except that I depart, that Comforter shall not come unto you. And again he saith, I forsake the world and go to my Father. And, to be short, he saith, Poor men ye shall ever have with you, but me shall you not ever have. Now we know right well that his Godhead is in all places, and that, as touching his Godhead, he forsook not the world when he ascended unto his Father; where-

John vi.

John vi.

John vi. Matt. xxiv.

Mark xiv. John xii.

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fore it must needs follow, that he forsook it, as touching his flesh and manhood: and thereto agreeth the expositions of St. Austin and Fulgentius, before alleged, yea, and all other old faithful fathers. Now, if he have forsaken the world, as touching the presence of his natural flesh and manhood, as all doctors define, then meant he not that his natural flesh should be present in the Sacrament, to be eaten with our teeth; and therefore, though Christ so tell you, yet must you take him as he meaneth, or else you be beguiled; for if ye think that God both may and will fulfil and verify all things, according to the letter as he speaketh them, I may call you an obedient man, as St. Bernard doth his monk Adam; and may say, as he doth, that if that be the right way, so simply to receive all things, we may put out the text of Scripture, which warneth us to be wise as serpents, for the text following is sufficient, which biddeth us to be simple as doves.

Why doth your mastership grant a necessary allegory, when Paul saith, Christ is a stone, or when Christ saith that he is a door? The Scripture saith he is both twain; and since God so saith, he is able so to make it. And therefore, by your reason, we shall need none allegory in all Scripture; and then he that is most simple and foolish, may be counted most faithful, and so shall we need no faithful fathers to expound the text, but it shall be most merit to believe the letter. This I deny not, but that God could have done it if he had so intended, when he spake the words; but now, the Scripture standing as it doth, I think he cannot do it. As, by example, I think that God, by the blood of his Son Christ, might have saved all men, both faithful and unfaithful, if he had so intended, and that it had so pleased him; but now, the Scriptures standing as they do, I say he cannot do it, and that it is impossible for him; for then he might make his Son a liar, which saith, He that believeth not is damned; and again, He that

God may do all things, but yet so as he cannot deny his truth,

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believeth not shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him. And even as it is impossible to stand with the process of Scripture (wherein God hath declared his will,) that the unfaithful should be saved, although God might have done it at the first, if he had so would; likewise it is impossible, the Scriptures standing as they do, that the natural body of Christ should be present to our teeth in the Sacrament. And as for our faith, it needeth not to have him present in the bread; for I may as well eat him and drink him through faith; that is to say, believe in him as though he were as present in the Sacrament, as he was hanging on the cross.

neither restore virginity, &c. John iii.

The natural body of Christ is not present to our teeth in the Sacrament.

1. And because you say that my natural reasons be not worth the reasoning, I will allege you some more, to see what you can say to them. First, every Sacrament is the sign of an holy thing; but the Sacrament of the altar is a Sacrament, as all faithful men do confess; *ergo*, it must follow that the Sacrament of the altar is the figure of an holy thing. Now, if it be the sign of an holy thing, then it is not the holy thing itself which it doth signify and represent. Why should we then fear to call that bread a figure, that is to say, a Sacrament of that holy body of our Lord and Saviour?

Arguments to prove that Christ's natural body is not in the Sacrament of his body and blood.

2. Besides that, I would know of what necessity or profit his flesh must be present in the Sacrament? for the presence of his flesh can no more profit us, than doth the remembrance of his body; but this remembrance may as well be done by the Sacrament, as though his body were present: and therefore, since God and nature make nought in vain, it followeth, consequently, that his natural flesh is not there, but only a memorial thereof.

3. Furthermore, the end and final cause of a thing is ever better than those things which are provided for the end, as the house is better than the lime, stone, and timber, which are provided for the house: but the end

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and final cause of the Sacrament is the remembrance of Christ's body; and thereupon it must follow, that if the Sacrament be his natural body, the remembrance of Christ's body should be better than his body itself. Which thing is to be abhorred of all faithful men.

4. It were fondness to feign that the soul did otherwise eat than do the angels in heaven, and their meat is only the joy and delectation that they have of God and of his glory; and even so doth the soul, which is here upon the earth, eat, through faith, the body of Christ, which is in heaven; for it delighteth and rejoiceth while it understandeth through faith, that Christ hath taken our sins upon him, and pacified the Father's wrath. Neither is it necessary, that for that or for this cause his flesh should be present; for a man may as well love and rejoice in the thing which is from him and not present, as though it were present by him of that manner.

The joyful eating of Christ is by faith.

5. Moreover, the bread is Christ's body, even as the breaking of the bread is the death of his body. Now the breaking of bread at the maundy is not the very death of Christ's body, but only a representation of the same, albeit the mind, through faith, doth spiritually behold his very death; and even, likewise, that natural bread is not the very body of our Lord, but only a sacrament, sign, memorial, or representation of this same, albeit, through the monition thereof, the mind, through faith, doth spiritually behold the very body: and surely, thereof if a man be faithful, the Spirit of God worketh in his heart very sweetly at his communion.

6. Finally, it was not lawful to eat or drink the blood, not only of man, but also of a brute beast; and the Apostles themselves, moved by the rule of charity, did institute that men should abstain from blood, somewhat favouring of the infirmity of the Jews. Now, if the Apostles had taught, as ye do, that in the Sacra-

The Apostles did ordain that we should abstain

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ment his very flesh and blood is eaten and drunk with the teeth and mouth of faithful and unfaithful, what could have been a greater occasion to have excluded the Jews from Christ's faith even at once? Think you, that Apostles would not have been too scrupulous to have drunk his very blood, seeing it was so plain against Moses' law, if they had understood him so grossly as ye do? Peter had a cloth sent down from heaven, in which were all manner of beasts forbidden by the law, and was commanded to slay and eat them; and he answered, God forbid! for I never eat any unclean thing; meaning thereby, that he never eat any thing forbidden by the law. Whereof it must needs follow, that either he never received the Sacrament, which is plain false; or else, that he more spiritually understood the words of Christ's maundy, than ye falsely feign. For it was plainly forbidden by the law to eat or drink any manner of blood. And I know but one reason that they have which they count insoluble; howbeit, by God's grace we shall soon avoid it. Their reason is this; Paul saith, He that eateth and drinketh this Sacrament unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. Now, say they, how should they be guilty of the Lord's body and blood, which receive it unworthily, except it were the very body and blood of the Lord?

from blood, meaning all natural blood.

The wine in the Sacrament is no natural blood.

Acts x.

Objection.

This argument, I say, is very weak and slender; for I can show many examples, by the which it may be dissolved: for he that despiseth the king's seal or letters, offendeth against his own person, and yet the letter or seal is not his own person. He that violently plucketh down his grace's arms, or breaketh his broad seal with a furious mind or violence, committeth treason against his own person: and yet his arms and broad seal are not his own person. He that clippeth the king's coin, committeth treason against the king's person and the commonwealth, and yet the money is neither his grace's

Solution.

To pull down violently the king's arms is treason against his own person, and yet the arms are not the king's person.

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person nor the commonwealth's; and therefore your argument is but weak and slender: for, even as a man doth offend against the prince's person by despising his arms, seal, or letters, so doth a man offend against Christ's body and blood, by abusing the Sacrament of his body and blood, although he be not there present, as the king's person is not present in his arms, seal, or letters.

Besides that, St. Paul saith, that every man which prayeth or prophesieth with covered head, shameth his head, and his head is Christ. Shall we therefore imagine that Christ is naturally in every man's head, as your argument concludeth? forsooth, that were a pretty fantasy! Finally, St. Austin saith, that he doth no less sin which negligently heareth the word of God, than doth the other which unworthily receiveth the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood. Now, if this be true, then is your reason not worth a rush: for Christ's natural body is not in the word which is preached, as all men know; and yet he sinneth no less that negligently heareth it, than doth he that unworthily receiveth the Sacrament; and thus you see their insoluble argument easily dissolved.

To be negligent in the hearing of the word of God is a great offence.

M. More. "But now must this young man consider again that himself confesseth, that the cause for which himself saith, that Christ, in so saying, did so mean, is because that, if he should have meant so, it was impossible to God to bring his meaning about; that is to say, that Christ's body might be in two places at once: and therefore, but if he prove that thing impossible for God to do, else he confesseth that God not only said it, but meant it indeed; and yet, over this, if Christ had never said it, yet doubt I nothing but he is able to do it, or else were there somewhat that he could not do; and then were God not Almighty."

Frith. Here M. More would mire me with his sophistry, and with wiles would win his spurs. For, as he did

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before descant on these words, 'can' and 'impossible,' and would have made men believe that I meant it could not be, because it could not be by reason, and that I meant it was impossible, because reason could not reach it; so now he disputeth with like manner of sophistication, concluding that I confess that it is impossible and cannot be, because that, if God should so have meant, it was impossible for God to bring his meaning about. Dear brethren, this babbling is sufficiently discussed already; for I meant not that it was impossible for God to bring it about, if he had so meant, but I meant that it is impossible to stand with the process of the Scripture which we have received; and I say, moreover, that though it was possible for God to have done it, if it had pleased him, yet now, the Scripture thus standing, it is impossible for him to dó it, for then he must make his Son a liar. And I say, that if he had so meant as the letter standeth, that he would then have given us other Scripture, and would not have said, that he must depart to him that sent him, with other texts as are before rehearsed.

M. More is a quarrelling babbler.

And where M. More saith, that if there were somewhat that he could not do, then were God not Almighty: I say it is a shame for our prelates that they have gotten such an ignorant proctor to defend them. And I am sure that they themselves could have said much better; for else how should they instruct others and lead them in the right way, if they themselves were so rude and unlearned? Should they not know what this meaneth, that God is Almighty, which is a piece of the first article of our Creed, then how should their sheep have any sure sight? More thinketh that God is called Almighty because he can do all things. And then, indeed, it should follow that he were not Almighty, for all things he cannot do: he cannot save the unfaithful; he cannot restore virginity once violate, saith St. Thomas; and also, as I remember, St. Je-

M. More an ignorant proctor, for the Clergy.

God is Almighty, and yet cannot do all things.

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rome, writing of virginity unto Paul and Eustochium: he cannot sin, saith Dun; he cannot deny himself, saith St. Paul. Now, if this man's learning were allowed, then might not God be Almighty, because there is somewhat that he cannot do; but they that are accustomed with Scripture, do know that he is called Almighty, not because he can do all things, but because there is no superior power above him, but that he may do all that he will; and all that his pleasure is to do, that may be brought to pass, and no power is able to resist him; but he hath no pleasure nor will to make his Son a liar, nor to make his Scripture false, and, indeed, he must not do it; and yet, notwithstanding, he abideth Almighty, for he may do all that he will.

Tim. 2. ii.

God is said to be Almighty because there is no superior power above him, and he can do all that he will.

M. More. Then M. More, touching the reason of repugnance, saith, that many things may seem repugnant both to him and me, which things God seeth how to make them stand together well enough; and addeth such blind reasons of repugnance as induce many men into a great error; some ascribing all things unto destiny, without any power of man's free will at all, and some giving all to man's own will, and no foresight at all to the providence of God; and all because the poor blind reason of man cannot see so far, as to perceive how God's presence and man's free will can stand together, but seem clearly to be repugnant.

Frith. As for his digression of man's free will, I will not greatly wrestle with him; but this one thing I may say, that if the Son of God deliver us, then are we very free. And where the Spirit of God is, there is freedom. I mean not freedom to do what you will, but freedom from sin, that we may be the servants of righteousness. But if we have not the Spirit of Christ, then will I say with St. Austin, that our free will is wretched, and can do nought but sin. And as touching such texts of repugnance, if they be so diffuse that man's reason (which is the light of his understanding) cannot attain to set

John viii.

2 Cor. viii.

Rom. vi.

Aug. de Spiritu et litera.

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them together, then were you best to make them none articles of our faith. For I think, as many as are necessary unto our salvation, are contained in the Creed, which I think every man believeth. I beseech you, lay no bigger burthen upon us than those faithful fathers did which thought that sufficient; and then, I am sure, we should have fewer heretics. For I never heard of heretic that ever held against any article of our Creed; but all that ye defame by this name, are only put to death, because they say that we are not bound to believe every point that the laws and tyranny of the clergy allow and maintain. Which thing, how true it is, (blessed be God) is meetly well known already. For else had I and many more been dead ere this day.

The articles in our Creed are as many as are necessary for our salvation.

"I wot well, that many good folk have used in this matter many fruitful examples: as of one face beholden in divers glasses, and in every piece of one glass broken into twenty; and of one word coming whole to a hundred ears at once; and the sight of one little eye present and beholding a whole great country at once; with a thousand such marvels more, such as those that see them daily done (and therefore marvel not at them,) shall yet never be able, no not this young man himself, to give such a reason by what mean they may be done, but that he may have such a repugnance laid against it, that he shall be fain in conclusion (for the chief and most evident reason,) to say, that the cause of all those things is, because God that hath so caused them to be done, is almighty of himself, and may do what him list."

M. More.

As touching the examples that M. More doth here allege, I may soon make answer. For they that are like our matter, make clean against him; and the other cannot make for him. The glass, I grant, is a good example; for even as the glass doth represent the very face of man, so doth this Sacrament represent the very body and blood of Christ. And like as every piece of

Frith.

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The glass that representeth the face, is not the face.

the glass doth represent that one face, so doth every piece of that Sacrament represent that one body of Christ. But every man knoweth right well, that though the glass represent my face, yet the substance of the glass is not my very face, neither is my very face in the glass. And even so, though the Sacrament do represent the body of Christ, yet the substance of the Sacrament is not his very body, no more than the glass is my face; neither is his very body in the Sacrament, no more than my very face is in the glass: and thus this example maketh well for us. And for that one word coming whole to a hundred ears, I say that word is but a sound and a quality, and not a substance; and therefore it is nothing to our purpose, and cannot be likened to Christ's body, which is a substance. And as concerning the sight of the little eye, I say that though the eye descry and see a whole country, yet is not that whole country in the eye; but as the country is known by the sight of eye, (though the country be not in it,) so is the death of Christ and his body-breaking and blood-shedding known by the Sacrament, though his natural body be not in it. And thus his examples make nothing with him, but rather much against him. And where he saith that the young man himself can give him no reason by what mean they may be done, I may say unto his mastership, that when I was seven years younger than I am this day, I would have been ashamed if I could not have given an evident reason at the Austin in Oxford, before the whole University. And albeit I now vouchsafe not to spend labour and paper about Aristotle's doctrine, yet have I so much touched his examples, that he may be weary of them.

The body of Christ is no more in the Sacrament than my face is in the glass.

Christ's death and body-breaking is known by the Sacrament, and yet it is not the natural body of Christ.

M. More. "Also I cannot see why it should be more repugnant that one body may be, by the power of God, in two places at once, than that two bodies may be together in one place at once; and that point I think this young man denieth not."

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Frith. The being of our body in two places at once is against nature, and Scripture cannot allow it; but that two bodies should be in one place seemeth more reasonable. For I have good experience that though my body cannot be in two places at once, (both in the Tower and where I would have it beside,) yet, blessed be God, in this one place I am not without company. But if M. More mean that in one proper and several place may be two bodies at once, that I will deny, till he have leisure to prove it. And yet, at the length, I am sure, his proof shall not be worth a pudding prick. For I am sure it must be, *Ratione porositatis ut in igne et ferro: nam penetrationem dimensionum nunquam probabit.* And then he is as near as he was before.

Frith speaketh meekly.

M. More. "Now his last reason with which he proveth it impossible for the body of Christ to be in two places at once, is this: you can, saith he, show no reason why he should be in many places at once and not in all: but in all places he cannot be. Wherefore we must conclude that he cannot be in many places at once. This is a marvellous concluded argument. I am sure that every child may soon see that this consequent can never follow upon these two premises of this antecedent."

Frith. When I made this reason and compiled my treatise, I had no regard to the cavillations of subtle sophisters; for I thought no sophisters should have meddled with that meat. But nevertheless, since now I perceive that they principally are poring on it, seeking some prey to set their teeth at work, in this book I have somewhat provided for them, and have brought such hard bones, that if they be too busy, may chance to choke them. And yet is not the argument so feeble as he feigneth. For the first part, (if he list to consider the sense and mind, and be not too curious,) where I say that they can show no reason why he should be in many places and not in all, is thus to be understood of wise men: that the very reason and cause that he should be

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in many places, must be because the body is so annexed with the Godhead, that it is in every place as the Godhead is. This, I say, must be the cause and reason of his being in many places; and neither you nor no man else can justly assign any other. Now of this major or first proposition thus understood, doth the conclusion follow directly. For if this should be the cause (as they must needs grant), and this cause proved false by Scripture, then must they needs grant that the thing which so followeth of this cause, must needs be false. And so is my purpose proved, and they concluded. As by example, the astronomers say, that the natural course of the sun is from the west to the east. Now if a man should ask them what is then the cause that we see him daily take the contrary course, from the east to the west, against his nature, they answer—because the highest sphere (whose course is from the east to the west,) with his swift moving, doth violently draw the inferior spheres with him. This is the cause that they allege, and no man can assign any other. And now, since I can prove this sense false by Scripture, and St. Austin, (for Scripture saith that the sphere is fastened, Heb. viii., and St. Austin, expounding that text, improveth the astronomers, which affirm that it moveth,) since, I say, this cause is proved false by Scripture, they must needs grant that the thing which followeth of this cause must needs be false. And so we may conclude against them all, that the natural course of the sun is not from the west to the east, (as the astronomers say,) but contrary, from the east to the west. And likewise, since the cause that Christ's body should be in many places, is assigned of learned men to be, because his body is so annexed with the Godhead (which is in every place,) that it is also in all places with it, and no man can assign any other. And that this cause is proved false by Scripture, for when the woman sought Christ at his grave, an angel gave the answer

Astronomers say that the natural course of the sun is from the west to the east.

A conclusion against the astronomers.

Mark xiv.

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that he was not there. But if his body had been in every place, then the angel lied. Also Christ said unto his disciples of Lazarus, which died at Bethany, Lazarus is dead: And I am glad, for your sakes, that you may believe, because I was not there. Now, if his body were in every place, as is the Godhead, then Christ said not truly, when he said he was not there. Therefore since, as I said, this is the cause assigned, and yet proved false by Scripture, they must needs grant that the thing which followeth of this cause, must also needs be false. And so we may conclude against them all, that Christ's body is in one place only. And now you may see how my consequent followeth the premises.

Luke xvi. John xi.

Christ's body is in one place only.

"For he can no further conclude, but that we can show no reason why he should be in many places at once. What had he won by that? Might he then conclude thereupon that he could not be in many places at once? As though it were not possible for God to make his body in two places at once, but if we were able to tell how, and why, and whereby, and show the reason."

M. More.

How far I can conclude is showed immediately before. For though of the bare words as ye took them, it was hard to conclude any thing, yet have I now declared them, and so far concluded, that you cannot avoid them. And where he saith, that though they can show no reason, yet I had won nought by it; I think he would be angry if I should so answer. But surely they are in good case, for it is enough for them to say, thus it is, and need never to show any cause or reason why they so say. For they are the Church, and cannot err: so that if they teach contrary things, yet all is good enough. And when they see that no man can make the Scriptures to agree with their doctrine, then they say that their doctrine is true enough, but no man can understand the Scripture. And though the Scripture seem

Frith.

Whatsoever the Papists say, that must stand for reason.

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never so repugnant both to them and to us, yet God seeth well enough (say they,) how to set them together, and it is possible for God to make it agree though they cannot tell how. But this doctrine hath long enough deceived us; for men have seen too long with your spectacles; yet now, (thanks be to God,) they begin to see with their own eyes. And as touching how this matter was possible to God, and how it is not possible, is sufficiently declared before to all that list to look.

M. More. "Howbeit as for me (though I be not bounden to it) I am content yet to prove, that God may make the body of Christ to be in all places at once. And because this young man coupleth that proposition with the other, so will I do too. And I prove, therefore, that God can make his body be both in many places at once, and in all places at once, by that he is almighty, and therefore can do all things."

Frith. Now is the good man in his old dream again, and thinketh that God is called almighty, because he can do all things. And then indeed it should follow, that he were not almighty, for all things he cannot do: he cannot save the unfaithful, he cannot restore virginity once violated, he cannot sin, he cannot deny himself. Now if this man's learning were allowed, then might not God be called almighty, because there is somewhat that he cannot do. But they that are accustomed with Scripture, do know that he is called almighty, not because he cannot do all things, but because there is no superior power above him, but that he may do all that he will, and all that his pleasure is may he bring to pass. But he hath no will, pleasure, nor power, to make his Son a liar, and to make his Scripture false; and yet notwithstanding he abideth almighty, and may do what he will. And even as it is impossible to stand with the process of the Scriptures (wherein God hath declared his will,) that the unfaithful should be saved, (although

More harpeth upon a false string.

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at the first God might have done it, if he had so willed,) likewise it is impossible, (the Scriptures standing as they do,) that the natural body of Christ should be present to our teeth in the Sacrament. And as for our faith, it needeth not to have him present in the bread; for I may as well eat him and drink him, through faith, (that is to say, believe in him,) though he continue still in heaven, as though he were as present in the Sacrament, as he was hanging on the cross. But yet his mastership hath left one thing unproved, and that is even the pith of his purpose. For though he had proved (as he hath not,) that God by his Almightiness might make Christ's body in many places, and in all places, and in the Sacrament, yet he forgot to prove that God hath so done. And therefore, albeit I did grant him, (as I will not) that he might so do, yet thereof it doth not follow, that he hath so done indeed, for God may do many things which he doth not. And therefore, his argument doth not prove his purpose. Now, if he do but think that God hath so done, I am well pleased, and will not put him to the pain to prove it. For anon ye shall see him so entangled in briars, that he shall not wit where to become.

More saith that God may do all things, but he doth not prove that he hath so done.

"But yet this young man goeth about to prove the point by Scripture. For except we grant him that point to be true, he saith that else we make the angel a liar that said he is not here, and also that else we make as though Christ's body, in his ascension, did not go up in the cloud into heaven from earth, but only hid himself in the cloud, and played bo-peep, and tarried beneath still. Here in the end he forgetteth himself so foul, that when he was a young sophister, he would, I dare say, have been full sore ashamed so to have overseen himself at Oxford at a peruse. For ye wot well that thing which he saith, and which he must therefore prove, is, that the body of Christ cannot be in every

M. More.

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place at once by no means that God could make. And the texts that he bringeth in for the proof, say no further but that he was not in all places at once."

Frith. There are two things disputed between M. More and me: the one is, whether God can make the body of Christ in many places, and in the Sacrament. And thereto his mastership saith yea, for God is almighty, and may do all things. And I say nay, and affirm that God is not called almighty because he may do all things, but because he may do all that he will; and I say that he will not make his Son a liar, nor his Scripture false, and that he cannot do it, and yet abideth almighty. The other thing is this, whether he have done it or not. For albeit I did grant him that it were possible, yet is he never the nearer, except the other can prove that he hath done it indeed, or else think that God hath so done. For, as I said, God can do many things which he doth not. And the controversy of this doubt is resolved by the Angel and Scripture, which (as M. More granteth himself) proveth that he was not in all places at once. And thereof it followeth, that God hath not done it, although it be possible. And so is his mastership at a point. For if I should grant it never so possible, yet if Scripture prove that it be not so indeed, then is he never the nearer his purpose, but much the further from it. And this is even it that I said before, that it was not possible to stand with the process of the Scripture which we have received. And now his mastership hath granted it himself, which you may be sure he would not have done if he could otherwise avoid it. And here you may see how sore I have overseen myself.

Two things disputed between More and Frith.

More. "God forbid that any man should be the more prone and ready to believe this young man in this great matter, because he saith in the beginning, that he will bring all men to a concord and quietness of conscience; for he bringeth men to the worst kind of quietness that may be devised, when he telleth us, as he doth, that every

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man in this matter may, without peril, believe which way he list. Every man may in every matter, without any counsel, soon set himself at rest, if he list to take that way and to believe as he list himself, and care not how. But and if that way had been sure, St. Paul would never have showed that many were in peril of sickness and death too, for lack of discerning reverently the body of our Lord in that Sacrament when they came to receive him."

When Christ should depart this world, and go to his Father, he gave his disciples a commandment that they should love each other, saying, By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if you love each other as I have loved you. This rule of charity would I not have broken, which notwithstanding is often in jeopardy among faithful folk, for this sacrament of unity. This thing considered, I thought necessary to advertise both parties to save this rule of charity; and proved in the first chapter of my treatise, that it was no article of the faith necessary to be believed under pain of damnation, and therefore that they were to blame that would be contentious for the matter. For since it is no article of the faith, they may lawfully dissent without all jeopardy; and need not to break the rule of charity, but rather to receive the other like poor brethren. As by example, some think that the marriage between our most redoubted prince and Queen Catherine is lawful, and may stand with the laws of God; and some think that it is unlawful, and ought to be disannulled. Now if we should for this matter break the rule of charity, and every man hate his neighbour that would not think as he doth, then were we greatly to blame, and in jeopardy of condemnation. This, I say, I proved in the first chapter, against which More maketh no business, and improveth it not, whereby you may soon gather that it is very true. For else, since his mastership so laboureth in these other points, he would not have left that untouched, you may

Frith.

John xv.

Christ's badge is love.

That the Sacrament is the natural body, is none article of our faith necessary to be believed upon pain of damnation.

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be sure. This is the concord that I would bring them unto. And as touching quietness of conscience, I have known many that have sore been encumbered with it; and among all, a certain Master of Arts, which died in Oxford, confessed upon his death-bed, that he had wept, lying in his bed, an hundred nights within one year's space, because he could not believe it. Now if he had known it had been no necessary article, what comfort and quietness should it have been unto him! Furthermore, every man cannot so quiet himself, as M. More imagineth. For there are many that think themselves no small fools, which when they have received some foolish superstition, either by their own imagination, or by believing their gossips' gospel and old wives' tales, by and by think the contrary to be deadly sin, and utterly forbidden by Christ's Gospel. As by example, I know a house of religion, wherein is a person that thinketh it deadly sin to go over a straw if it lie across. And if there be on the pavement any painted picture, or any image graven on a dead man's grave, he will not tread upon it, although he should go a furlong about. What is this but vain superstition, wherewith the conscience is cumbered and corrupted? May not this be weeded out with the word of God, showing him that it is none article of the faith so to think, and then to tell him that it is not forbidden by the Scripture, and that it is no sin? Now albeit his conscience be so cankered that the rust will not be rubbed out, yet, with God's grace, some other whom he hath infected with the same, may come again to God's word, and be cured full well, which should never have been able to quiet themselves. And, likewise, there are some which believe as your superstitious hearts have informed them, and these cannot quiet themselves, because they believe that you have fetched your doctrine out of Scripture: but when it is proved to them, and they themselves perceive, that Scripture saith not so, then can they not be content to think the con-

Superstition.

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trary, and judge it no sin at all. And as touching St. Paul, surely ye take him wrong, for I will show you what process he taketh, and how he is to be understood; but because it is not possible to finish it in few words, I shall defer it unto the book's end, and then I shall declare him at large.

"And what a fashion is this, to say that we may believe if we list, that there is the very body of our Lord indeed, and then to tell us for a truth, that such a faith is impossible to be true, for God himself can never bring it about, to make his body be there." More.

If a man take the bare words of Christ, and of simplicity be deceived, and think that his very body be in the Sacrament present to their teeth that eat it, I dare not say that he sinneth therein, but will refer the matter unto God's judgment, and yet without doubt I dare say he is deceived. As by example: if a man (deceived by the literal sense,) would think that men should preach to fishes, (as St. Francis did,) because Christ bade his disciples go preach to all creatures, yet would not I think that he sinned therein, but will refer him unto God's judgment. But yet I ween every woman that hath any wit, will say that he was deceived. Frith.

A man may judge of error: but God only must be judge of condemnation.

Frith is no hasty judge.

"I am very sure that the old holy doctors which believed Christ's body and blood to be there, and so taught others to believe, as by their books plainly doth appear; if they had thought either that it could not be there, or that it was not there indeed, they would not for all the good in this world have written as they have done. For would those holy men (ween you) have taught that men be bound to believe, that the very body and blood of Christ is there, if themselves thought they were not bound thereto? Would they make men honour and worship that thing as the very body and blood of Christ, which themselves thought were not it? This gear is too childish to speak." More.

That the old doctors and faithful fathers so taught Frith.

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or thought as ye feign of them, is very false. For St. Austin, as I have showed, maketh wholly for us. Besides that, there is none of the old fathers but they call it a Sacrament, a mystery, and mystical meat, which is not eaten with tooth or belly, but with ears and faith. And touching the honour and worship done unto it, I say it is plain idolatry. And I say, that he falsely reporteth on the old holy doctors, for they never taught men to worship it; neither can he allege one place in any of them all, which would have men to worship the Sacrament. Peradventure he may allege me certain new fellows for his purpose, as Duns, Dorbell, Durand, and such draffe, which by their doctrine have drenched the world with damnable idolatry. But I speak of the old holy fathers and doctors, as St. Austin, Ambrose, Jerome, Cyprian, Cyril, Chrysostom, Fulgentius, and such other: these, I say, do not teach men to worship it, and by that I dare abide. Of this point I am so sure, that I will use it for a contrary argument, that his natural body is not there present. For if the holy fathers before-named had taken this text after the letter, and not only spiritually, then in their works they would have taught men to worship it; but they never taught men to worship this Sacrament; therefore it followeth they took not the text after the letter, but only spiritually. Now do I provoke you to seek a proof of your purpose. Nevertheless, I will not deny but that these holy doctors, in divers places, do call it his body, as Christ and Paul do, and so do we likewise, and say also that his very body is there eaten. But yet we mean that it is eaten with faith, (that is to say, by believing that his body was broken for us,) and have his body more in memory at this maundy than the meat that we there eat. And therefore it hath the name of his body, because the name itself should put us in remembrance of his body, and that his body is there chief-

To honour and worship the Sacrament is plain idolatry.

The old holy fathers have not taught to worship the Sacrament.

Note.

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ly eaten, even more (through faith) than the meat with the mouth. And so are they also to be understood.

More. "Yet one great pleasure he doth us, in that he putteth us all at liberty, that we may, without peril of damnation, believe as we did before: that is to wit, that in the blessed Sacrament the whole substance of the bread and the wine is transmuted and changed into the very body and blood of Christ. For if we may, without peril of damnation, believe thus, as himself granteth that we may; then granteth he that we may also, without peril of damnation, believe that himself lieth, where he saith the truth of that belief is impossible."

Frith. The believing of this point is of itself not damnable, as it is not damnable to think that Christ is a very stone or a vine, because the literal sense so saith: or if you believe that you ought to preach to fishes, and go christen them another while, as ye do bells. And I assure you, if there were no worse mischief that ensued of this belief than it is in itself, I would never have spoken against it. But now there followeth upon it damnable idolatry. For through the belief that his body is there, men fall down and worship it, and, thinking to please God, do damnably sin against him. This, I say, is the cause that I so earnestly write against it, to avoid the idolatry that is committed through it. Part of the Germans do think that his natural body is present in the Sacrament, and take the words fleshly, as Martin taught them. But none of them worship it, for that Martin forbiddeth both in his words and works, and so, blessed be God, they avoid that jeopardy; which thing if you will also grant, and publish but this one proposition, that it ought not to be worshipped, I promise you I will never write against it. For then is the jeopardy taken away, and then I am content that your mastership think I lie. But in the mean season I must think that ye fill the world with damnable idolatry. And thus have you also answered unto the conclusion which you allege out of the

Martin Luther saith that the natural body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, but he would not have it worshipped.

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King's grace's book. For I say, in your way is no hurt, as long as you do but only believe the bare words of the text, as St. Francis did, when he preached to fishes. But if through the occasion of those words, ye fall into the worshipping of it, then I say that in your way is undoubted damnation. And so is there great jeopardy in your way, and none at all in ours. For though he were there indeed, yet do not we sin if we worship it not, for we are not commanded to worship the Sacrament: but if he be not there, then do you commit damnable idolatry.

THE CONSECRATION OF THE SACRAMENT.

More. "NOW as for another quietness of every man's conscience, this young man biddeth every man be bold, whether the blessed Sacrament be consecrate or unconsecrate, (for though he most especially speaketh of the wine, yet he speaketh it of both,) and biddeth us not care, but take it for all that, unblessed as it is, because the priest (he saith) cannot deceive us, nor take from us the profit of Christ's institution, whether he alter the words or leave them all unsaid. Is not this a wonderful doctrine of this young man? We wot well all, that the priest cannot hurt us by his oversight or malice, if there be no fault upon our own part; for that perfection, that lacketh on the priest's part, the great mercy of God, as we trust, of his own goodness, supplieth. And therefore, as holy Chrysostom saith, no man can take harm but of himself. But now if we see the thing disordered our own self by the priest, and Christ's institution broken; if we then wittingly receive it unblessed and unconsecrated, and care not whether Christ's institution be kept and observed or no, but reckon that it is as good

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without it as with it, then make we ourselves partakers of the fault, and lose the profit of the Sacrament, and receive it with damnation: not for the priest's fault, but for our own."

I had thought that no Turk would have wrested a man's words so unfaithfully, for he leaveth out all the pith of my matter; for my words are these: I will show you a means how ye shall ever receive it according to Christ's institution, although the priest would withdraw it from you. First, ye need to have no respect unto the priest's words which ministereth it. For if ye remember for what intent Christ did institute this Sacrament, and know that it was to put us in remembrance of his body-breaking and blood-shedding, that we might give him thanks for it, and be as sure of it through faith according to his promises, as we are sure of the bread by eating of it; if, as I say, ye remember this thing, (for which intent only the priest speaketh those words,) then if the priest leave out those words or part thereof, he cannot hurt you, for you have already the effect and final purpose for the which he should speak them. And again, if he should wholly alter them, yet he cannot deceive you, for then ye be sure that he is a liar; and though you see the priest bring you the wine unconsecrated, yet never stick at that. For as surely shall it certify your conscience and outward senses, though he consecrate it not, (so thou consecrate it thyself: that is to say, so thou know what is meant thereby and give him thanks,) as though he made a thousand blessings over it. And so I say, that it is ever consecrated in his heart that believeth, though the priest consecrate it not. And contrarywise, if they consecrate it never so much, and thy consecration be not by, it helpeth thee not a rush. For except thou know what is meant thereby, and believe, giving thanks for his body-breaking and blood-shedding, it cannot profit thee.

Frith.

A mean how we may receive the Sacrament according to Christ's institution, though the minister be negligent.

The worthy receiver of the Sacrament may consecrate the same to himself.

"Now where you say, that if we see the thing disor- M. More.

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dered by the priest, and Christ's institution broken, and wittingly receive it, we make ourselves partakers of the crime."

Frith. I answer, that if the reformation thereof lay in our hands, then said you truth; but since it is written to private persons who may not reform this matter, and that the reformation thereof resteth only in the hand of your Prince and Parliament, (for the error consisteth not in the misordering of the matter by one priest only, but rather of the doctrine of them all, saving such as God hath lightened,) to these private persons I say that your doctrine should sooner be the occasion of an insurrection, which we labour to eschew, than any quieting of them by Christ's doctrine. And therefore since there is another way to the wood, (saving all upright,) we will avoid that perilous path. But when ye see Christ's institution broken, and the one kind left out unto the lay people, why are ye partaker thereof?

M. More. "Howbeit, as for his belief that taketh it no better but for bare bread and wine, it maketh him little matter consecrated or not, saving that the better it is consecrated the more it is ever noyous to him that receiveth it, having his conscience cumbered with such an execrable heresy, by which well appeareth that he putteth no difference between the body of our Lord in the blessed Sacrament, and the common bread that he eateth at his dinner, but rather he esteemeth it less; for the one, yet I think or he begin, if he lack a priest, he will bless it himself; the other he careth not, as he saith, whether it be blessed or no."

Frith. What I reckon it more than bread and wine, I will show you hereafter in declaring the mind of St. Paul upon this Sacrament, and that in the conclusion of this book. And in the mean season, I will say no more but that he belieth me. And as for their blessings and consecration, profit not me, except I consecrate it myself with faith in Christ's blood, and with giving him praise

The right consecration to him that receiv-

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and thanks for his inestimable goodness, which, when I was his enemy, reconciled me unto his Father by his own death. This consecration must I set by, if I will have any profit of his death, which the Sacrament representeth unto me. And if I myself do thus consecrate it, then shall I be sure of the fruit of his death. And I say again, that as the priests do now use to consecrate it, it helpeth not the poor commons of a rush. For their consecration should stand in preaching unto them the death of Christ, which hath delivered them out of the Egypt of sin, and from the fiery furnace of Pharaoh the devil. And as for their wagging of their fingers over it, and saying six or seven words in Latin, helpeth them nothing at all; for how can they believe by the means of his words, when they know not what he saith? And as touching the common bread that I eat at my dinner, whether I have a priest or not, I bless it with my heart, (and not with my fingers,) and heartily give God thanks for it. For if I have a hundred priests to bless it, yet am not I excused thereby: for except I bless it myself, it profiteth me no more than if it were unblessed. And if I bless it myself, then I care not what the priest prate, for as long as I understand him not, it profiteth me nothing; but in good faith, I ween the bishops and their proctor wot not what a blessing meaneth. Therefore, dear brethren, hearken to me: to bless God, is to give him praise and thanks for his benefits; to bless a king or a prince, is to thank him for his kindness, and to pray to God for him, that he may long reign to the laud of God and wealth of his commons. To bless a man's neighbour, is to pray for him and to do him good. To bless my bread or meat, is to give God thanks for it. To bless myself, is to give God thanks for his benefits that I have received of him, and to pray God, that of his infinite goodness he will increase those gifts that he hath given me, and finish his work which he hath begun in me, unto his laud and

eth the Sacrament, is faith in Christ's death.

The Popish consecration in Latin is not worth a rush.

The Bishops and their proctor cannot tell what a blessing meaneth.

Blessing, what it is.

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praise; and as touching this flesh, to fulfil his will in it, and not to spare it, but scourge, cut, and burn it, only that it may be to his honour and glory. This is the form of blessing, and not to wag two fingers over them. But, alack! of this blessing our bishops be ignorant.

M. More. "But as for those that are good and faithful folk, and have any grace or any sparkle of reason in their heads, will (I verily think) never to be so far overseen, as in this article, (the truth whereof God hath himself testified by as many open miracles as ever he testified any one,) to believe this young man upon his barren reasons, against the faith and reason both of all old holy writers and all good Christian people this fifteen hundred years."

Frith. As for the miracles, I marvel not at them, neither may they make me the sooner to believe it; for Christ

Matt. xxiv. told us before that such delusions should come, that if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived by

2 Thess. ii. them. And St. Paul exhorteth us to beware of such

Deut. xiii. signs and wonders: and therefore I do as Moses teacheth me,—when I hear of such a wonder, then straight I look on the doctrine that is annexed with it. If it teach me to refer all the honour to God, and not to creatures, and teach me nothing but that will stand with God's word, then will I say, that it is of God. But if it teach me such things as will not stand with his word, then will I determine that it is done by the devil, to delude the people with damnable idolatry. When Paul and

Acts xiv. Barnabas preached at Lystra, and had done a miracle among them, the people ran and would have done sacrifice unto them. But the Apostles ran among them and tare their clothes, crying unto them, Sirs, what do you? we are even corruptible men as ye are, and preach unto you, that you should leave this vain superstition, and worship the living God, which made heaven, earth, the sea, and all that is in them, &c. Here the Apostles refused such honour and worship; and therefore I am

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sure they would not suffer their images to have it. Now when I see a miracle done at any image, and perceive that it bringeth men to the worshipping of itself, contrary to the fact and doctrine of the Apostles, which would not receive it themselves, I must needs conclude, that it is but a delusion done by the devil to deceive us, and to bring the wrath of God upon us. Even so I say of the Sacrament: since the miracles that are done by it do make men think otherwise than Scripture will, and cause men to worship it, I doubt not but they are done by the devil, to delude the people. Thou wilt peradventure say, that God will not suffer him to abuse the Sacrament of his body and blood. Yes, verily, God will suffer it, and doth suffer it, to see whether we will be faithful, and abide by his word or not. And marvel not thereof, for God suffered him to take up the very natural body of his son Christ, and set him on a pinnacle of the temple; and after, he took him up again, and led him to an exceeding mountain: and therefore think not but that he hath more power over the Sacrament than he had over Christ's own body. And therefore when they tell me, Lo, here is Christ, lo, there is Christ, (as Christ prophesied,) lo, he is at this altar, lo, he is at that, I will not believe them.

How you may judge true miracles from false.

Matt. iv.

False Anti-Christs.

Nevertheless, if I should grant that all the miracles which were done, and ascribed unto the Sacrament, were very true miracles, and done of God himself, (as I doubt not but some of them be true,) yet thereupon it doth not follow that the Sacrament should be the very natural body of Christ. For we have evident stories, that certain persons have been delivered from bodily diseases through the sacrament of Baptism. And yet the water is not the Holy Ghost, nor the very thing itself whereof it is a sacrament. The shadow of Peter hath healed many, and yet was not that shadow Peter's own person. We read also, that napkins and handkerchiefs were carried from Paul unto them that were sick and possessed

Acts iv.

Acts xii.

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with unclean spirits, and they received their health. And yet it were nevertheless madness, to think that Paul's body had been actually or naturally in those things. And therefore this is but a very weak reason, to judge by the miracles the presence of Christ's body. And surely you might be ashamed to make so slender reasons: for God may work miracles through many things which are not his natural body. And as touching the old Doctors, whom you feign to make with you, and the truth of your opinion, which you say hath been believed of all good Christian people this fifteen hundred years, is sufficiently declared before, and proved to be but a point of your old poetry.

D. BARNES DID GRACIOUSLY ESCAPE M. MORE'S HANDS.

M. More. "AND also Friar Barnes, albeit that (as ye wot well) he is in many other things a brother of this young man's sect, yet in this he sore abhorreth this heretic, or else he lieth himself; for at his last being here, he wrote a letter to me, wherein he writeth, that I lay that heresy wrongfully to his charge; and showeth himself so sore grieved therewith, that he saith, he will, in my reproach, make a book against me, wherein he will profess and protest his faith concerning this blessed sacrament. But, in the mean season, it well contenteth me, that Friar Barnes, being a man of more age, and of more ripe discretion, and a Doctor of Divinity, and in those things better learned than this young man is, abhorreth this young man's heresy in this point, as well as he liketh him in many other."

Frith. The more your mastership praiseth Doctor Barnes, the worse men may like your matter; for in many points he doth condemn your damnable doctrine, as in

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his book appeareth. And therefore, if such credence must be given to him, then much the less will be given to you. But peradventure you will say, that he is to be believed in this point, although he err in other. Whereunto I answer, that if you will consent unto him, I would be well paid, and will promise you to write no more on that matter: for in this we both agree, that it ought not to be worshipped; (yea, and blessed be God, all the others whom you call heretics;) and so both of us do avoid idolatry, which you with so great danger do daily commit: and therefore, if you allow his learning, then am I content that you dissent from me; for let it not be worshipped, and think as you will, for then is the peril past: and since we agree in this point, doubt not but we shall soon agree in the residue, and admit each other for faithful brothers. And your mastership saith, that he wrote you a letter, protesting that you lay that heresy wrongfully to his charge. I think it was more wisdom for him twice to have written to you, than once to have come and tell you of it; for it was plainly told him, that you had conspired his death; and that, notwithstanding his safe conduct, you were minded to have murdered him; and for that cause he was compelled, both, being here, to keep himself secretly, and also privily to depart the realm.

The Sacrament may not be worshipped.

The Papists say that no promise nor covenant is to be kept with a heretic.

And blessed be God, you have sufficiently published your purpose, in your answer against W. Tyndale, where you say, that you might lawfully have burnt him. Here men may see how perceivable you are addict to our prelates, and how prone ye were to fulfil their pleasures, contrary to our Prince's prerogative royal. And thanks be to God, which gave you such grace in the sight of our Sovereign, that he shortly withdrew your power; for else it is to be feared, that you would further have proceeded against his grace's prerogative, which thing, whether it be treason or not, let other men define. But this I dare say, that it is printed and published to our Prince's great dishonour: for

More was fully addict to the mind of the Prelates, and to kill and burn as fast as they.

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what learned man may, in time to come, trust to his grace's safe conduct, or come at his grace's instance or request, since not only the spiritualty, (which of their profession resist his prerogative,) but also a lay man, promoted to such pre-eminence by his grace's goodness, dare presume so to depress his prerogative, and not only to say, but also to publish it in print, that notwithstanding his grace's safe conduct, they might lawfully have burnt him?

More a Popish and a malicious tyrant.

But here he would say unto me, as he doth in his book, that he had forfeited his safe conduct, and thereby was fallen into his enemies' hands. Whereunto I answer, that this your saying is but a vain gloss; for I myself did read the safe conduct that came unto him, which had but only this one condition annexed unto it, that if he came before the feast of Christmas then next ensuing, he should have free liberty to depart at his pleasure. And this condition, I know, was fulfilled. How should he, then, forfeit his safe conduct? But M. More hath learned of his masters, our prelates, (whose proctor he is) to depress our Prince's prerogative, that men ought not to keep any promise with heretics. And so his safe conduct could not save him. As though the King's grace might not admit any man to go and come freely into his grace's realm, but that he must have leave of our prelates. For else they might lay heresy against the person, and so slay him, contrary to the King's safe conduct: which thing, all wise men do know to be prejudicial to his grace's prerogative royal. And yet I am sure, that of all the time of his being here, you cannot accuse him of one crime: albeit (unto your shame) you say that he had forfeited his safe conduct. These words had been very extreme, and worthy to have been looked upon, although they had been written by some presumptuous prelate. But that a lay man, so highly promoted by his Prince, should speak them, and also cause them openly to be published

The condition contained in Barnes' safe conduct.

No promise nor licence made to heretics by the King, without the consent of our Prelates, is to be kept and observed.

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among his grace's commons, to reject the estimation of his royal power, doth, in my mind, deserve correction. Notwithstanding, I leave the judgment and determination unto the discretion of his grace's honourable council.

"And as for that holy prayer that this devout young man, (as a new Christ,) teacheth all his congregation to make at the receiving of this blessed Sacrament, I would not give the paring of a pear for his prayer, though it were better than it is, pulling away the true faith therefrom, as he doth. Howbeit, his prayer there is so devised and penned, and painted with leisure and study, that I trust every good Christian woman maketh a much better prayer at the time of her housell, by faithful affection, and by God's good inspiration suddenly. Frith is an unmeet master to teach us what we should pray at the receiving of the blessed Sacrament, when he will not knowledge it as it is, but take Christ's blessed body for nothing but bare bread, and so little esteem the receiving of the blessed Sacrament, that he forceth little whether it be blessed or not." M. More.

Where he discommendeth my prayer, and saith that I am an unmeet master to teach men to pray, seeing I take away the true faith from it, and saith that every woman can make a better when she receiveth the Sacrament, I would to God that every woman were so well learned that they could teach us both. And surely I intended not to prescribe to all men that prayer only, but hoped to help the ignorant, that they might either speak those words, or else (taking occasion at them) to say some other to the laud and praise of God. And as for your faith, (which you call the true faith,) must I needs improve; for it will not stand with the true text of Scripture, as it plainly appeareth: but to the faith in Christ's blood, I exhort all men, and teach them to eat his body with faith, (and not with teeth) which is, by having his death in continual remembrance, and di- Frith.

The modesty and meek spirit of John Frith.

Christ's body is to be eaten with faith, and not with the teeth.

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gesting it into the bowels of their soul. And because you so sore improve my prayer, to conclude my answer against you, I will rehearse it again; and let all men judge between us.

A prayer made by John Frith to be said before the receiving of the Communion.

BLESSED be thou, most dear and merciful Father, which of thy tender favour and benignity (notwithstanding our grievous enormities committed against thee), vouchsafedst to send thine own and only dear Son to suffer most vile death for our redemption. Blessed be thou, Christ Jesu our Lord and Saviour, which of thine abundant pity, considering our miserable estate, willingly tookest upon thee to have thy most innocent body broken and blood shed, to purge us and wash us which are laden with iniquity; and to certify us thereof, hast left us not only thy word which may instruct our hearts, but also a visible token, to certify even our outward senses of this great benefit, that we should not doubt but that the body and fruit of thy passion are ours (through faith), as surely as the bread which by our senses we know that we have within us. Blessed be also that Spirit of verity which is sent from God our Father, through our Saviour Christ Jesu, to light our dark ignorance, and lead us through faith into the knowledge of him which is all verity. Strengthen, we beseech thee, our frail nature, and increase our faith; that we may praise God our most merciful Father, and Christ his Son our Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.

A godly and good prayer.

THE PASCHAL LAMB AND OUR SACRAMENT ARE HERE COMPARED TOGETHER.

The Paschal Lamb and our Sacrament compared together.

NOW we shall shortly express the pith of our matter, and borrow the figure of the Paschal Lamb, which is in all points so like. That the offering of the Paschal Lamb did signify the offering of Christ's body, is plain

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by Paul, which saith, Christ our Paschal Lamb is offered up for us. When the children of Israel were very sad and heavy for their sore oppression under the power of Pharaoh (for the more miracles were showed, the worse were they handled), God sent unto them by Moses, that every household should kill a lamb to be a sacrifice unto God, and that they should eat him with their staves in their hands, their loins girded, and shoes on their feet, even as men that were going an hasty journey. This lamb must they eat hastily and make a merry Maundy. Now because they should not say that they could not be merry for their oppression, and what could the lamb help them, he added glad tidings unto it, and said, This is the passing by of the Lord, which this night shall pass by you and slay all the first-begotten within the land of Egypt, and shall deliver you out of your bondage, and bring you into the land that he hath promised unto your fathers. Mark the process and conveyance of this matter, for even likewise it is in our Sacrament. The Apostles were sad and heavy, partly considering the bondage of sin wherewith they were oppressed, and partly because he told them that he must depart from them, in whom they did put all their hope of their deliverance. While they were in this heaviness, Christ thought to comfort them, and to give them the seal of their deliverance, and took in his hand bread, blessed and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, This is my body which shall be given for you; for this night shall the power of Pharaoh, the devil, be destroyed, and tomorrow shall you be delivered from Egypt, the place of sin, and shall take your journey towards the heavenly mansion which is prepared of God for all that love him. Now compare them together.

1 Cor. v.

The manner of the eating of the Paschal Lamb.

The manner of the institution of the Sacrament. John xvi.

The institution of the Sacrament.

1. The Paschal Lamb was instituted and eaten the night before the children of Israel were indeed delivered from Egypt: likewise was the Sacrament instituted and eaten the night before we were delivered from our sins.

The comparison of the Paschal Lamb with Christ's Supper.

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2. The Paschal Lamb was a very lamb indeed: and so is the Sacrament very bread indeed.

3. The Paschal Lamb was called the passing by of the Lord, which destroyed the power of Pharaoh and delivered them: the Sacrament is called the body of the Lord, which destroyed the power of the devil and delivered us.

4. As many as did eat the Paschal Lamb in faith, were very merry, and gave God great thanks; for they were sure the next day to be delivered out of Egypt: as many as did eat his Sacrament in faith, were merry, and gave God great thanks, for they were sure the next day to be delivered from their sin.

5. They that did not eat the Paschal Lamb in faith could not be merry, for they were not so sure of deliverance from the power of Pharaoh: they that did not eat this Sacrament in faith could not be merry, for they were not sure of deliverance from the power of the devil.

6. They that believed the word of the Lord did more eat the passing by of the Lord which should deliver them, than they did the lamb. They that did believe the word of the Lord did more eat the body of the Lord, which should be given for their deliverance, than they did the bread: for the thing doth a man most eat that he most hath in memory and most resolveth in mind, as appeareth by Christ, John iv.: I have meat to eat that ye know not.

7. They that believed not the next day to be delivered from Egypt, did not eat the passing by of the Lord, although they did eat the lamb. They that believed not the next day to be delivered from sin, did not eat the body of the Lord, although they eat the bread.

8. The children of Israel were but once delivered from Egypt, notwithstanding they did every year eat the lamb, to keep that fact in perpetual remembrance: even so Christ bought and redeemed us but once for all, and was offered and sacrificed but once for all, though the

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Sacrament thereof be daily broken among us, to keep that benefit in continual memory.

9. As many as did eat the Paschal Lamb in faith, and believed God's word as touching their deliverance from Egypt, were as sure of their deliverance through faith, as they were sure of the lamb by eating it: as many as do eat this Sacrament in faith, and believe God's word as touching their deliverance from sin, are as sure of their deliverance through faith, as they are sure of the bread by eating it.

10. As many as did eat of that Paschal Lamb did magnify their God, testifying that he only was the God Almighty, and they his people sticking to him, to be delivered by his power from all danger: as many as do eat of this Sacrament do magnify their God, testifying that he only is the God Almighty, and they his people sticking by him to be delivered by his power from all danger.

11. When the Israelites were delivered from Egypt, they eat nevertheless the Paschal Lamb, which was still called the passing by (because it was the remembrance of the passing by of the Lord), and heartily rejoiced, offering him sacrifice, and acknowledging, with infinite thanks, that they were the fellowship of them that had such a merciful God. Now Christ's elect are delivered from sin, they eat nevertheless the Sacrament, which is still called his body that once died for their deliverance, and heartily rejoice, offering to him the sacrifice of praise, and acknowledging, with infinite thanks, that they are of the fellowship of them that have such a merciful God.

12. The Paschal Lamb, after their deliverance being yearly eaten, brought as much mirth and joy unto them that did eat it in faith, as it did to their fathers which felt Pharaoh's fury and were not yet delivered; for they knew right well, that except God of his mercy and wonderful power had so delivered them, they should also themselves have been bond in the land of Egypt, and

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under that wicked prince Pharaoh, of which bondage they greatly rejoiced to be rid already, and thanked God highly because they found themselves in that plenteous land which God provided for them. The Sacrament which, after our deliverance, is yearly and daily eaten, bringeth as much mirth and joy unto us that eat it in faith, as it did to the Apostles which were not yet delivered: for we know right well, that except God of his mercy and through the blood of his Son, had so delivered us, we should also ourselves have been bond in Egypt, the place of sin, under the wicked prince the devil, of which bondage we greatly rejoice to be rid already, and thank God highly because we find ourselves in the state of grace, and have received through faith the first fruits and a taste of the Spirit, which testifieth unto us that we are the children of God.

The Maundy of remembrance that Paul received of the Lord, and delivered to the Corinthians. 1 Cor. x.

This Maundy of remembrance was it that Paul received of the Lord, and delivered to the Corinthians in the eleventh chapter. For though he borrow one property and similitude of the Sacrament in the tenth chapter, that in my mind maketh neither with us nor against us, albeit some think that it maketh whole for the exposition of Christ's words, This is my body. But in my mind, they are deceived. For the occasion that Paul spake of it in the tenth chapter, was this. The Corinthians had knowledge that all meats were indifferent, and whether it were offered to an idol or not, that the meat was not the worse, and they might lawfully eat of it, whether it were sold them in the shambles, or set before them when they dined and supped in an unfaithful man's house, asking no questions, except some man did tell them that it was offered to an idol, and then they should not eat of it, for offending his conscience that so told them, (albeit they were else free, and the thing indifferent.) This knowledge, because it was not annexed with charity, was the occasion of great offend-

God hath ordained all meats to be indifferent.

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ing. For by reason thereof they sat down among the Gentiles at their feasts, where they eat in the honour of their idols, and so did not only wound the conscience of their weak brethren, but also committed idolatry indeed. And therefore St. Paul said unto them, My dear beloved, flee from worshipping of idols: I speak unto them which have discretion: judge ye what I say. Is not the cup of blessing which we bless, the fellowship of the blood of Christ? Is not the bread which we break, the fellowship of the body of Christ? For we, though we be many, are yet one bread and one body, inasmuch as we are partakers of one bread. Christ did call himself bread, and the bread his body; and here Paul calleth us bread, and the bread our body. Now may you not take Paul that he in this place should directly expound Christ's mind: And that the very exposition of Christ's words when he said, This is my body, should be that it was the fellowship of his body, (as some say, which seeking the key in this place of Paul, lock themselves so fast in, that they can find no way out); for Christ spake those words of his own body, which should be given for us; but the fellowship of Christ's body (or congregation,) was not given for us. And so he meant not as Paul here saith, but meant his own body. For as Paul calleth the bread our body for a certain property, even so doth Christ call it his body for certain other properties. In that the bread was broken, it was Christ's own body, signifying that as that bread was broken, so should his body be broken for us. In that it was distributed unto his disciples, it was his own body, signifying that as verily as the bread was distributed unto them, so verily should the death of his body and fruit of his passion be distributed to all faithful folk. In that the bread strengtheneth our bodies, it is his own body, signifying that as our bodies are strengthened and comforted by bread, so are our souls by the faith in his body-breaking; and likewise

Paul.

Christ called himself bread, and Paul calleth us bread.

How the words of St. Paul are to be understood.

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of the wine, in that it was so distributed, and so comforteth us and maketh us merry. Furthermore, the bread and wine have another property, for the which it is called our body; for in that the bread is made one bread of many grains or corns, it is our body, signifying that we, though we be many, are made one bread, that is to say, one body. And in that the wine is made one wine of many grapes, it is our body, signifying that though we are many, yet in Christ and through Christ we are made one body and members to each other. But in this thing Paul and Christ agree. For as Paul calleth the bread our body, and us the bread because of this property, that it is made one of many, even so doth Christ call it his body, because of the properties before rehearsed. Furthermore in this they agree, that as Paul's words must be taken spiritually (for I think there is no man so mad, as to judge that the bread is our body indeed, although in that property it representeth our body), even so must Christ's words be understood spiritually, that in those properties it representeth his very body. Now when we come together to receive this bread, then by the receiving of it in the congregation, we do openly testify that we all (which receive it) are one body, professing one God, one faith, and one baptism, and that the body of Christ was broken and his blood shed for remission of our sins. Now since we so do, we may not company nor sit in the congregation or fellowship of them that offer unto idols and eat before them. For as Paul saith, Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of the devils; ye cannot be partakers of the table of the Lord, and of the table of the devils. I would not that you should have fellowship with devils. The heathen which offered unto idols, were the fellowship of devils, not because they eat the devil's body or drank the devil's blood, but because they believed and put their confidence in the idol or devil as in their God, and all that were of that faith had their ceremonies, and gave hearty

Why the bread is called our body.

We must understand the Sacrament spiritually, or else we receive it not to our comfort.

Paul.

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thanks to their God with that feast which they kept. They came to one place and brought their meat before the idol and offered it; and with their offering gave unto the devil godly honour. And then they sat down and eat the offering together, giving praise and thanks unto their God, and were one body and one fellowship of the devil, which they testify, by eating of that offering before that idol. Now doth St. Paul reprehend the Corinthians for bearing the Gentiles company in eating before the idol. For they knew that the meat was like other meat, and therefore thought themselves free to eat it or leave it. But they perceived not that that congregation was the fellowship of devils, which were there gathered, not for the meat sake, but for to thank and praise the idol their God in whom they had their confidence: and all that there assembled and did there eat, did openly testify, that they all were one body, professing one faith in their God, or that idol. So Paul rebuked them, for because that by their eating (in that place and fellowship) they testified openly, that they were of the devil's body, and rejoiced in the idol their God in whom they had faith and confidence. And therefore saith Paul, that they cannot both drink the cup of the Lord, testifying him to be their God in whom only they have trust and assurance, and the cup of the devil, testifying the idol to be their God and refuge.

The Gentiles offered their meat to idols.

Here you may note that the meat, and the eating of it in this place of fellowship, is more than the common meat, and eating in other places: for else they might lawfully have drunken the devil's cup with them the one day, and the cup of the Lord the next day with his disciples. What was it more? Verily, it was meat, which by the eating of it in that place and fellowship, did testify openly unto all men, that he was their God whose cup they drank, and before whom they eat in that fellowship; and so in their eating they praised and honoured the idol; and therefore they that had their trust in the living God, and in the blood of his

To drink of the cup of the Lord, and to drink of the cup of the devil, how it is to be understood.

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Son Christ, might not eat with them. And likewise it is in the Sacrament; the bread, and the eating of it in the place and fellowship where it is received, is more than common bread. What is it more? Verily it is bread, which by the eating of it in that place and fellowship, doth testify openly unto all men, that he is our very God whose cup we drink, and before whom we eat in that fellowship, and that we put all our affiance in him, and in the blood of his Son Christ Jesus, giving God all honour and infinite thanks for his great love wherewith he loved us, as it is testified in the blood of his Son, which was shed for our sins: so that in this place and fellowship may no man eat nor drink with us, but he that is of our faith, and acknowledgeth the same God that we do. As by example, if a man were well beloved among his neighbours, (albeit he have some enemies,) and were long absent from his friends in a strange country; when he were come home, his neighbours that loved him would greatly rejoice, and peradventure would buy a capon, or another piece of meat, to give him his welcome home, and get them to some honest man's house, or to a tavern, and make good cheer together, to testify openly that he is welcome home, and that they all which are at the banquet rejoice of his coming home. Now, I say, that this banquet is more than another meal, for at this banquet his enemies may be loth to come, because they cannot rejoice at his coming home, and therefore cannot make good cheer among them, testifying that he is welcome home, but rather abhor the meat and drink that is there eaten, because their heart doth not favour the person for whose sake it is prepared. Notwithstanding, if a capon's leg were reserved for one of his enemies, and afterwards given him, when the banquet were done, he might lawfully eat it; for then it were but bare meat, such as he eateth at home. And likewise the enemies of Christ, which believe not that they have remission of sins

A proper example.

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through his blood-shedding, cannot rejoice of his body-breaking, and therefore cannot make good cheer among them; but if any be reserved after the maundy, he may lawfully eat it, for it is but bread. And his lovers that are there present do rather come thither to give him his welcome home, than for the meat, and they more eat his welcome home than the meat: but if any of his enemies fortune to be there, they eat only the meat, and not his welcome home; for they rejoice not at his coming home. Likewise, the faithful that are there present, be rather come thither to rejoice in the faith of his body-breaking, than in breaking or eating of the bread or meat: but if any of the unfaithful fortune to be there, they eat only the bread, and not his body-breaking; for they rejoice not at his body-breaking. Here, peradventure, some will suppose that I were contrary to myself; for before, I said, that it was more than meat that was eaten at the Gentile's feast, and more than meat that was eaten at my neighbour's welcome home, and more than bread that is eaten at the receiving of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. And now I say, that if a man's enemy be there, he eateth only the meat, and not the welcome home; and likewise the unfaithful eateth only bread, and not the body and blood of Christ. How may these words stand together? I answer, that they eat but only bread or meat that profiteth them, but indeed they eat more to their hindrance, and even their own damnation. For they that did eat in the fellowship of the Gentiles, did but only eat the meat to their profit, but in eating their meat, their face did openly testify that they honoured the idol for their God (although their heart were otherwise), wherein they committed idolatry; and besides that, they wounded the consciences of their weak brethren, and so sinned against God. Besides that, he that envieth his neighbour, and cometh to that banquet, eateth but only the meat that profiteth him; notwith-

The enemies of Christ cannot rejoice in Christ's blood-shedding.

The faithful and unfaithful do not eat alike.

1 Cor. viii.

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standing, in his own heart, he eateth the rancour and malice of his mind, to his great grievance, when he seeth them so rejoice. And of his own companions, which are also this man's enemies, he doth purchase himself hatred, because with his fact he testifieth that he loveth him, although his heart be otherwise; and of God shall be condemned: for he that hateth his brother is a murderer. Furthermore, he that is unfaithful, and cometh to the Maundy, eateth but only the bread that profiteth him; notwithstanding he eateth, besides that, his own damnation, because he believeth not that the body of our Saviour, which the Sacrament representeth, is broken for his sins, and his blood shed to wash them away. This I am compelled to do, to stop the chattering mouths of sophisters; albeit to them that be sober it had been enough to have said, they eat only bread, and not the body broken, &c.; for they right well understand it by the contrary antithesis, and know that I meant not by that 'only' that he should eat the bread, and nothing else but only bread; but that I meant by this word 'only' that he should eat the bread without the body. And so likewise in other examples. Thus have we sufficiently declared Paul's mind in the tenth chapter.

1 John iii.

The unfaithful and wicked eat their own damnation.

In the eleventh chapter, Paul maketh much mention of the Maundy, and describeth it to the uttermost. First, he saith, When ye come together in one place, a man cannot eat the Lord's Supper; for every man beginneth afore to eat his own supper, and one is hungry, and another is drunken. Have ye not houses to eat and drink in, or else despise ye the congregation of God, and shame them that have not? What shall I say unto you? Shall I praise you? In this I praise you not. Paul did instruct according to Christ's mind, that the Corinthians should come together to eat the Lord's Supper, which lieth not so much in the carnal eating, as in the spiritual; and is greatly desired to be eaten,

1 Cor. xi.

The true eating of the Sacra-

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not by the hunger of the body, but by the hunger of the faithful heart, which is greedy to publish the praise of the Lord, and give him hearty thanks, and move others to the same, that of many, praise might be given unto our most merciful Father, for the love which he showed us, in the blood of his own most dear Son Christ Jesus, wherewith we are washed from our sins, and surely sealed unto everlasting life. With such hunger did Christ eat the Paschal lamb, saying to his disciples, I have inwardly desired to eat this Easter lamb with you before that I suffer. Christ's inward desire was not to fill his belly with his disciples, but he had a spiritual hunger, both to praise his Father with them for their bodily deliverance out of the land of Egypt, and specially to alter the Paschal lamb and memory of the carnal deliverance, into the Maundy of mirth and thanksgiving for our spiritual deliverance out of the bondage of sin; insomuch that when Christ knew that it was his Father's will and pleasure that he should suffer for our sins, (wherein his honour, glory, and praise should be published,) then was it a pleasure unto him to declare unto his disciples that great benefit, unto his Father's praise and glory, and so did institute that we should come together and break the bread in the remembrance of his body-breaking and blood-shedding, and that we should eat it together, rejoicing with each other, and declaring his benefits.

ment is the spiritual eating of the same.

Luke xxii.

Now were the Corinthians fallen from this hunger, and came not together to the intent that God's praise should be published by them in the midst of the congregation, but came to feed their flesh, and to make carnal cheer, insomuch that the rich would have meat and drink enough, and take such abundance that they would be drunk, and so make it their own supper, and not the Lord's, as Paul saith, and did eat only the bread and meat, and not the body-breaking, as I have before said; and the poor, which had not, (that is to say, that

The manner of the coming of the Corinthians together.

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had no meat to eat,) were ashamed and hungry, and so could not rejoice and praise the Lord, by the reason that the delicate fare of the rich was an occasion for the poor to lament their poverty; and thus the rich did neither praise God themselves, nor suffered the poor to do it, but were an occasion to hinder them.

They should have brought their meat and drink and have divided it with their poor brethren, that they might have been merry together, and so to have given them occasion to be merry and rejoice in the Lord with thanksgiving. But they had neither lust to praise God nor to comfort their neighbour. Their faith was feeble and their charity cold, and had no regard but to fill their body and feed their flesh, and so despised the poor congregation of God, whom they should have honoured for the spirit that was in them, and favour that God had showed indifferently unto them in the blood of his Son Christ. When Paul perceived that they were thus fleshly-minded, and had no mind unto that spiritual Maundy which chiefly should there be advertised, he reproveth them sore, rehearsing the words of Christ, That which I gave unto you I received of the Lord: For the Lord Jesus, the same night in the which he was betrayed, took bread and thanked, and brake it, and said: Take ye and eat ye; this is my body which is broken for you, this do ye in remembrance of me. After the same manner he took the cup when supper was done, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do ye as oft as ye drink it in the remembrance of me. For as oft as ye shall eat this bread and drink of this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death, till he come. As though he should say, Ye Corinthians are much to blame, which at this supper seek the food of your flesh; for it was institute of Christ, not for the intent to nourish the belly, but to strengthen the heart and soul in God. And by this you may know that Christ so meant, for he calleth it his body which

Why Christ did institute the Sacrament.

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is given for you, so that the name itself might testify unto you, that in this supper you should more eat his body which is given for you, (by digesting that into the bowels of your soul,) than the bread which by the breaking and the distributing of it, doth represent his body-breaking and the distributing thereof unto all that are faithful. And that he so meaneth is evident by the words following, which say, This do in the remembrance of me: and likewise of the cup. And finally, concluding of both, Paul saith, As often as ye shall eat this bread and drink of this cup, (in this place and fellowship) ye shall show the Lord's death until he come, praising the Lord for the death of his Son, and exhorting others to do the same, rejoicing in him with infinite thanks. And therefore ye are to blame which seek only to feed the belly with that thing which was only instituted to feed the soul. And thereupon it followeth:

The Sacrament was ordained to feed our souls, and not our bodies.

Wherefore whosoever doth eat of this bread and drink of this cup unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. He eateth this bread unworthily, which regardeth not the purpose for the which Christ did institute it, which cometh not to it with spiritual hunger, to eat through faith his very body, which the bread representeth by the breaking and distributing of it: which cometh not with a merry heart, giving God hearty thanks for their deliverance from sin: which do not much more eat in their heart the death of his body, than they do the bread with their mouth. Now since the Corinthians did only seek their belly and flesh, and forgat God's honour and praise, (for which it was instituted, that thanks should be given by the remembrance of his body-breaking for us,) they eat it to God's dishonour and to their neighbour's hindrance, and to their own condemnation, and so for lack of faith were guilty of Christ's body, which (by faith) they should there chiefly have eaten to their souls' health. And therefore it followeth:

The worthy and unworthy eating of Christ's body.

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Let a man therefore examine himself, and so let him eat of the bread, and drink of the cup.

What it is to prove and examine a man's own self.

This proving or examining of a man's self is first to think with himself with what lust and desire he cometh unto the Maundy, and will eat that bread: whether he be sure that he is the child of God and in the faith of Christ, and whether his conscience do bear him witness that Christ's body was broken for him: and whether the lust that he hath to praise God and thank him with a faithful heart in the midst of the brethren, do drive him thitherward; or else whether he do it for the meats' sake or to keep the custom: for then were it better that he were away. For he that eateth or drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body: that is, as it is said before, he that regardeth not the purpose for which it was instituted, and putteth no difference between his eating and other eating. For other eating doth only serve the belly, but this eating was instituted and ordained to serve the soul and inward man. And therefore he that abuseth it to the flesh, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, and he cometh unworthily to the Maundy where the Sacrament of Christ's body is eaten: yea, where the body of the Lord is eaten, not carnally with the teeth and belly, but spiritually with the heart and faith. Upon this followeth the text that M. More allegeth and wresteth for his purpose:

For this cause many are weak and sick among you, and many sleep. If we had truly judged ourselves, we should not have been judged when we are judged of the Lord: we are chastened, because we should not be damned with the world. Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, tarry one for another. If a man hunger, let him eat at home, that ye come not together unto condemnation.

For this cause, that is, for lack of good examining

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of ourselves, (as is before touched) many are weak and sick in the faith, and many asleep, and have lost their faith in Christ's blood, for lack of remembrance of his body-breaking and blood-shedding: yea, and not that only, but many were weak and sick, even stricken with bodily diseases for abusing the Sacrament of his body, eating the bread with their teeth, and not his body with their heart and mind, and, peradventure, some slain for it by the stroke of God, which if they had truly judged and examined themselves for what intent they came thither, and why it was instituted, should not have been so judged and chastened of the Lord. For the Lord doth chasten to bring us unto repentance, and to mortify our rebellious members, that we may remember him. Here ye may shortly perceive the mind of Paul.

The meaning of St. Paul's former words.

AN EPITOME AND SHORT REHEARSAL OF ALL THIS BOOK, SHOWING IN WHAT POINTS FRITH DISSENTETH FROM OUR PRELATES.

An Epitome of this whole book.

NOW, to be short, in these three points Frith dissenteth from our prelates, and from M. More, which taketh upon him to be their proctor.

The opinion of the Prelates.

1. Our prelates believe that in the Sacrament remaineth no bread, but that it is turned into the natural body of Christ, both flesh, blood, and bones. Frith saith, that it is no article of our creed; and, therefore, let them believe it that will. And he thinketh that there remaineth bread still; and that he proveth three manner of ways. First by the Scripture of Paul, which calleth it bread, saying, The bread which we break, is it not the fellowship of the body of Christ? For we, though we be many, are yet one body and one bread, as many as are partakers of one bread. And again he saith, As often as ye eat of this bread or drink of this cup, you

The opinion of Frith.

1 Cor. x.

1 Cor. xi.

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shall show the Lord's death, until he come. Also Luke calleth it bread, saying in the Acts, They continued in the fellowship of the Apostles, and in the breaking of the bread and prayer. Also Christ called the cup the fruit of a vine, saying, I shall not from henceforward drink of the fruit of the vine, until I drink that new in the kingdom of my Father.

Acts ii.

Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii.

Nature teacheth that there is both bread and wine in the Sacrament.

Furthermore, nature doth teach you that both the bread and wine continue in their nature; for the bread mouldeth if it be kept long, yea, and the worms breed in it, and the poor mouse will run away with it, and eat it; which are evidence enough that there remaineth bread. Also the wine, if it were reserved, would wear sour, as they confess themselves; and therefore they housell the lay people but with one kind only, because the wine cannot continue, nor be reserved, to have ready at hand when need were. And surely, as if there remained no bread, it could not mould, nor wear full of worms: even so, if there remained no wine, it could not wear sour. And therefore it is but false doctrine that our prelates so long have taught and published.

The old Doctors prove that there is bread in the Sacrament.

Finally, that there remaineth bread, might be proved by the authority of many doctors, which call it bread and wine, even as Christ and his Apostles did. And though some sophisters would wrest their saying, and expound them after their own fantasy, yet shall I allege them one doctor, which was Pope, that maketh so plain with us, that they shall never be able to avoid him.

Gelasius in consilio Ro.

For Pope Gelasius inviteth on this manner: *Certe sacramenta quæ sumimus corporis et sanguinis Christi, divinæ res sunt, propter quod et per eadem divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ. Et tamen non desinit esse substantia vel natura panis et vini, sed permanet in suæ proprietate naturæ. Et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur.* That is to say, Surely the Sacraments of the body and blood of Christ which we receive, are a godly thing, and there-

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fore through them are we made partakers of the godly nature: and yet doth it not cease to be the substance or nature of bread and wine, but they continue in the property of their own nature. And surely the image and similitude of the body and blood are celebrated in the act of the mysteries. This I am sure, that no man can avoid it, nor so wrest it, but that all men shall soon espy his folly, and therefore I may conclude that there remaineth the substance and nature of bread and wine.

The second point wherein Frith dissenteth from our prelates and their proctor.

The faith of the Prelates.

The prelates believe that his very flesh is present to the teeth of them that eat the Sacrament, and that the wicked eat his very body. Frith saith, that it is no article of our creed, and therefore he reckoneth that he is in no jeopardy, though he believe it not: and he thinketh that his flesh is not present unto the teeth of them that receive the Sacrament; for his flesh is only in one place at once; and that he proveth both by the authority of St. Austin *ad Dardanum*, and also by the authority of Fulgentius *ad Thrasanundum*, *lib.* 20. as before appeareth in the book. And Frith saith, that the wicked eat not his very flesh, although they receive the Sacrament; and that he proveth by the Scripture, doctors, and good reason grounded upon the Scriptures.

The opinion of John Frith.

John vi.

The Scripture is this: He that eateth Christ's body hath everlasting life; but the wicked hath not everlasting life; *ergo*, then the wicked eat not his body. Again, the Scripture saith, He that eateth Christ's flesh and drinketh his blood, abideth in Christ and Christ in him; but the wicked abide not in Christ, nor Christ in him; *ergo*, the wicked eat not his flesh nor drink his blood.

August. in serm. de sacra fe. paschæ.

This may also be confirmed by good authority; for St. Austin saith, He that abideth not in Christ, and in whom Christ abideth not, without doubt he eateth not his flesh, nor drinketh his blood, although he eat and

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drink the Sacrament of so great a thing unto his damnation.

Beda. And even the same words hath Beda upon the tenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

Aug. de Civitate Dei in libro 21, *cap.* 25. Again, St. Austin saith, He that abideth not in me, and in whom I abide not, let him not say nor think that he eateth my body or drinketh my blood. And even the same words hath Beda upon the sixth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. And even the same sentence hath Ambrose, and Prosper, and Beda, upon the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

Finally, this may be proved by good reason, grounded upon the Scripture. Christ would not suffer Mary (though she loved him well) to touch him, because she lacked one point of faith, and did not believe that he was equal with his Father. And therefore by reason it must follow, that he will not suffer the wicked (which neither have good faith nor love towards him) both to touch him and eat him into their unclean bodies.

The wicked eat not Christ's body.

Now, since this is proved true, that the wicked eat not his body, it must also thereof needs follow that the Sacrament is not his natural body, for they do eat the Sacrament, as all men know. Besides that, the faithful do not eat Christ's body with their teeth; and therefore it must follow that the wicked do not eat it with their teeth. The antecedent, or first part of the reason, is proved by the words of Christ, which saith, That the flesh profiteth nothing at all; meaning, that it doth not profit as they understood him; that is to say, it profiteth nothing to be eaten carnally with their teeth and belly, as they understood him; for else it profiteth much to be eaten spiritually; that is to say, to believe that through his body-breaking and blood-shedding our sins are purged: and thus doth Origen, St. Austin, Beda, Chrysostom, and Athanasius expound it, as appeareth in the book before. And therefore Frith saith,

John vi.

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that only faithful men eat his body, not with their teeth and mouth, but with their faith and heart, that digest it into the bowels of their souls, through believing that it was broken on the cross, to wash away their sins: and the wicked eat not his body, but only the bread, and their damnation, because they eat him not spiritually; that is, because they believe not in his body-breaking and blood-shedding.

Only the faithful do eat Christ's body and drink his blood.

The third point wherein Frith dissenteth from our prelates and their proctor.

3. The prelates believe that men ought to worship the Sacrament. But Frith saith nay, and affirmeth that it is idolatry to worship it. And he saith, that Christ and his Apostles taught us not so to do: neither did the holy fathers so teach us. And Frith saith, that the authors of this worshipping are the children of perdition, which have overwhelmed this world with sin. Nevertheless, we must receive it reverently, because of the doctrine that it bringeth us. For it preacheth Christ's death unto us, and describeth it before our eyes, even as a faithful preacher by the word doth instil it into us by our ears and hearing. And that it supplieth the room of a preacher, is evident by the words of St. Austin, which saith, *Paulus quamvis portaret sarcinam corporis quod aggravat animam, potuit tamen significando predicare Dominum Jesum Christum, aliter per linguam suam, aliter per epistolam, aliter per sacramentum corporis Christi.* That is to say, though Paul did bear the burthen of the body, which doth onerate the soul, yet was he able in signifying to preach the Lord Jesus Christ, one way by his tongue, and another way by an epistle, and another way by the sacrament of Christ's body, &c. For as the people by understanding the signification of the words which he spake, did hear the glorious Gospel of God, and as by the reading of his Epistle they understood his mind and received the

The faith of the Prelates.

The opinion of Frith.

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word of the soul's health, so by the ministration of the Sacrament they might see with their eye the thing which they heard and read, and so have their senses occupied about the mystery, that they might the more earnestly print it in their mind. As by example: The Prophet Jeremiah, being in Jerusalem in the time of Zedekiah, king of the Jews, prophesied and preached unto them, that they should be taken prisoners of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon; and the Jews were angry with him, and would not believe his words. And therefore he made a chain of fetters of wood, and put them about his neck, and prophesied again, and preached that they should be taken prisoners and led captive into Babylon. And as his words did certify their ears that they should be subdued, so the chain did represent their captivity even before their eye. Which thing did more vehemently work in them than the bare words could do; and even so it is in the Sacrament. For likewise as the words did instil into our ears, that his body was given for us, and his blood shed for the remission of our sins, even so did the ministration of the Sacrament express that same thing unto our sight, and doth more efficaciously move than the bare words might do; and make us more attent unto the thing, that we may wholly give thanks unto God and praise him for his bounteous benefits. And therefore, seeing it is a preacher expressing unto our sight the same thing that the words do to our ears represent, you must receive it with reverence and sober behaviour, advertising the thing that it representeth unto you. And even the same honour is due unto it which is given unto the Scripture that is the word of God, for unto that must a man devoutly give ear, and reverently take the book in his hand: yea, and if he kiss the book for the doctrines' sake that he learneth thereout, he is to be commended: nevertheless, if he should go cense his book, men might well think that he were very childish. But if he should kneel down and

Jer. xxvii.

The ministration of the Sacrament doth lively express the death and passion of Christ.

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pray to this book, then he did commit plain idolatry. Consider, dear brethren, what I say, and avoid this jeopardy; which thing avoided, I care not as touching the presence of his body, though you believe that his natural flesh be there indeed, (and not only in a mystery as I have taught). For when the jeopardy is past, he were a fool that would be contentious for a thing as long as there cometh no hurt thereby.

The Germans which believe the presence of his body, do not worship it, but plainly teach the contrary, and in that point (thanks be to God) all they whom you call heretics do agree full well. Only avoid this idolatry, and I desire no more.

THE CONCLUSION OF THIS TREATISE.

NOW, dear brethren, I beseech you for the mercy that ye look for in Christ Jesu, that you accept this work with a single eye and no contentious heart, for necessity hath compelled me to write it, because I was informed both of my Lord of Winchester and other credible persons, that I had, by the means of my first treatise, offended many men, which thing may well be true; for it was too slender to instruct all them which have since seen it, albeit it were sufficient for their use to whom it was first delivered. And, therefore, I thought it not only expedient, but also necessary, to instruct them further in the truth, that they might see plain evidence of that thing wherein they were offended.

By this work you shall espy their blasphemies, and the venomous tongues wherewith they slander not only them that publish the truth, but even the truth itself. They shame not to say that we affirm it to be only bread, and nothing else. And we say not so: but we say, that beside the substance of bread, it is the Sacra-

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The Sacrament beside the substance of bread is Christ's body and blood.

ment of Christ's body and blood. As the Jew hanging before the tavern door is more than bare Jew: for besides the substance of Jew, it is a sign, and signifieth that there is wine to be sold. And this Sacrament signifieth unto us, and pointeth out before our eyes, that as verily as that bread is broken, so verily was Christ's body broken for our sins; and as that bread is distributed unto us, so is his body and fruit of his passion distributed unto all his faithful. And as the bread comforteth the body, so doth the faith in Christ's death comfort our souls. And as surely as we have that bread and eat it with our mouth and teeth, and know by our senses that we have it within us, and are partakers thereof; no more need we to doubt of his body and blood, but that through faith we are as sure of them, as we are sure of that bread, as it is sufficiently declared in my book.

They dishonour the Sacrament that give it that honour that is due unto God.

Again you may perceive how wickedly they report on us, which affirm that we dishonour it, which give it the right honour that it ought to have. And you do plainly dishonour it, which give unto it the honour that is only due unto God. We give it the same honour that we give unto the holy Scripture and word of God, because it expresseth unto our senses the death of our Saviour, and doth more deeply print it within us. And therefore we call it an holy Sacrament, as we call God's word holy Scripture. And we receive this Sacrament with great reverence, even as we reverently read or hear preached the holy word of God which containeth the health of our souls. And we grant that his body is present with the bread as it is with the word; and with both it is verily received and eaten through faith. But if we should kneel down and pray unto the holy Scriptures, men might count us fools, and might lawfully say, that we do not honour the Scripture by that means, but rather dishonour it. For the right honour of a thing is, to use it for that intent that it was institute of God;

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and he that abuseth it to any other purpose, doth indeed dishonour it. And likewise it is in the Sacrament, which was institute to keep in memory the death of Christ, which if we do any otherwise honour than we do the holy Scripture, (unto the which we may in no wise make our prayers,) I say that then we should utterly dishonour it. Avoid therefore this point of idolatry, and all is safe.

Frith here showeth what he thinketh of the Sacrament.

Finally, we say that they speak well and faithfully which say that they go to the body and receive the body of Christ, and that they speak villainously and wickedly, which say that they only receive bread, or the sign of his body; for in so saying they declare their infidelity. For the faithful will reckon that he is evil reported of, and reputed for a traitor and another Judas, if men should say of him that he did only receive the Sacrament, and not also the thing which the Sacrament doth signify. For albeit he only eateth the bread and Sacrament with his mouth and teeth, yet with his heart and faith, inwardly, he eateth the very thing itself, which the Sacrament outwardly doth represent.

And of this spring the manner of speakings that the old fathers do sometimes use, which at the first sight might seem contrary to our senses. But if they be well pondered, it may soon be seen how they should be taken. For many times, when they speak of the Sacrament and outward eating, they apply unto the Sacrament and outward eating the fruit and conditions of the inward eating and thing itself, because that in a faithful man they are so jointly joined that the one is never without the other. As by example, Mary is named the mother of God, and yet she is not the mother of his Godhead, by the which part only he is called God, but because she is his mother as touching his manhood, and the Godhead is so annexed with the manhood, that they both make but one person, therefore is she called the mother of God, which indeed if it be wisely weighed, shall be found to be abused

The Godhead is so joined with the manhood of Christ that they both make but one person.

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speech. And yet, nevertheless, it may very well be used, if men understand what is meant thereby; but if through the use of this speech, men should fall into such an error that would affirm our Lady to be indeed the mother of his Godhead, then necessity should compel us to make a distinction between the nature of his Godhead and the nature of his manhood, and so to expound the matter unto them, and bring them home again into the right understanding: as we are now constrained to do in this Sacrament, because you misconstrue the sayings of the Scripture and doctors, which notwithstanding, (if a man understand them) say very well.

And many such manner of speeches are contained in the Scriptures: as where Christ saith, John iii. There shall no man ascend into heaven, but he that descendeth from heaven, the Son of man which is in heaven. This text doth say that the Son of man was then in heaven, when he spake these words unto Nicodemus here on earth: which thing all wise men consent to be understood, *propter unitatem personæ:* that is to say, for the unity of the person. For albeit his Godhead was in every place at that time, yet was not his manhood (by the which he was called the Son of man) in heaven at that time. And yet Christ said that it was in heaven, for the unity of his person; for his Godhead was in heaven: and because the Godhead and manhood made but one person, therefore it was ascribed unto the manhood, which was only verified upon the Godhead, as St. Augustin *ad Dardanum* doth diligently declare.

August.

Of Baptism.

And likewise in the Sacrament of Baptism, because the inward working of the Holy Ghost is ever annexed, in the faithful, unto the outward ceremony, therefore sometimes the fruit of the inward Baptsim is ascribed unto the outward work. And so the Scripture useth to speak of the outward Baptism as though it were the inward; that is to say, the Spirit of God. And there-

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fore St. Paul saith, That we are buried with Christ through baptism: and yet, as St. Augustin expoundeth it, the outward baptism doth but signify this burial. And again, Paul saith, As many as are baptised have put Christ upon them; and yet indeed our outward baptism doth but signify, that we have put Christ upon us. But by the inward baptism (which is the water of life and Spirit of God,) we have indeed put him upon us, and live in him, and he in us: which, notwithstanding, is very false for all the outward baptism, in them that receive it not in faith. And unto them it is but a bare sign, whereof they get no profit, but damnation.

Augustinus ad Bonifacium.

And here you may evidently perceive how it is sometimes in Scripture ascribed unto the outward work and ceremony, which is only true in the inward verity. And this place shall expound all the old doctors which seem contrary to our sentence: and therefore mark it well.

Thus have you my mind farther upon the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ: wherein, if you reckon that I have been too long in repeating one thing so often, I shall pray you of pardon. But surely, methought I could not be shorter: for the world is such now-a-days, that some would hear and cannot, and some do hear and will not; and therefore I am compelled so often to repeat that thing which a wise man would understand with half the words.

Pray, Christian reader, that the word of God may increase, and that God may be glorified through my bonds. Amen.

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THE ARTICLES

WHEREFORE JOHN FRITH DIED,

WHICH HE WROTE IN NEWGATE THE 23D DAY OF JUNE, THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1533.

I DOUBT not, dear brethren, but that it doth some deal vex you, to see the one part have all the words, and freely to speak what they list, and the other to be put to silence, and not to be heard indifferently: but refer your matters to God, which shortly shall judge after another fashion. But in the mean season, I shall rehearse unto you the articles for which I am condemned.

The first article.

They examined me but of two articles, which are these: First, Whether I thought there were no purgatory to purge the soul after this present life? and I said that I thought there was none, for man is made but of two parts, the body and the soul. And the body is purged by the cross of Christ, which he layeth upon every child that he receiveth, as affliction, worldly oppression, persecution, imprisonment, &c., and death finisheth sin; and the soul is purged by the word of God, which we receive through faith, unto the health and salvation both of body and soul.

Now and if I did know any third part whereof we are made, I would also gladly grant the third purgatory; but seeing I know none such, I must deny the Pope's purgatory. Nevertheless, I count neither part a necessary article of our faith, necessarily to be believed under pain of damnation, whether there be such a purgatory or not.

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The second article was this, Whether that I thought that the Sacrament of the altar was the body of Christ? and I said, yea, that I thought that it was both Christ's body, and also our body, as St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. x. The second article.

In that it is made one bread of many grains, it is our body, signifying that we, though we be many, are yet one body: and likewise of the wine, in that it is made one wine of many grapes.

And again in that it is broken, it is Christ's body, signifying that his body should be broken; that is to say, suffer death, to redeem us from our iniquities.

In that it was distributed, it was Christ's body, signifying that as verily as that Sacrament is distributed unto us, so verily is Christ's body, and the fruit of his passion, distributed unto all faithful men.

In that it is received, it is Christ's body, signifying that as verily as the outward man receiveth the Sacrament with his teeth and mouth, so surely doth the inward man, through faith, receive Christ's body and fruit of his passion, and is as sure of it as of the bread that he eateth.

Well, said they, do you not think that his very natural body, both flesh and blood, is really contained under the Sacrament, and there actually present, besides all similitudes? No, said I, I do not so think. Notwithstanding, I would not that any should count that I make my saying (which is the negative) any article of the faith: for even as I say that you ought not to make any necessary article of the faith of your part (which is the affirmative), so I say again, that we make none necessary article of the faith of our part, but leave it indifferent for all men to judge therein, as God shall open his heart, and no side to condemn or despise the other, but to nourish, in all things, brotherly love, and to bear others' infirmities. Another question. An answer.

The text of St. Augustin, which they there alleged against me, was this: that in the Sacrament, Christ was St. Augustin's text.

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borne in his own hands. Whereunto I said, that St. Augustin doth full well expound himself: for in another place he saith, *Ferebatur tanquam in manibus suis;* that is, he was borne, after a certain manner, in his own hands. And by that he saith, after a certain manner, ye may soon perceive what he meaneth. Howbeit, if St. Augustin had not thus expounded himself, yet he saith *ad Bonifacium*, that the Sacrament of a thing hath a similitude or property of the thing which it signifieth, and for that cause it hath many times the name of the very thing which it signifieth. And so he saith that he bare himself, because he bare the Sacrament of his body and blood, which did so earnestly express himself, that nothing might more do it. If you read the place of St. Augustin *ad Bonifacium*, which I allege in my last book, ye shall soon see them answered.

Chrysostomus.

Another place they alleged out of Chrysostom, which at the first blush seemeth to make well for them. But if it be well weighed, it maketh much less for them than they ween. The words are these:—

Chrysostom's words.

Dost thou see bread and wine? Do they depart from thee into the draught, as other meats do? God forbid! for as in wax, when it cometh to the fire, nothing of the substance remaineth nor abideth; so likewise think that the mysteries are consumed by the substance of the body.

These words I expounded, by the words of the same Doctor St. Chrysostom, which in another homily saith on this manner:—The inward eyes, as soon as they see the bread, they fly over all creatures, and think not of the bread that is baken of the baker, but of the bread of everlasting life, which is signified by the mystical bread.

Now, confer these places together, and you shall perceive, that the last expoundeth the first clearly. First, he saith, Wilt thou see bread and wine? I answer by the second, Nay; for the inward eyes, as soon as they see

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the bread, think not of it, but of the thing itself that is signified thereby: and so he seeth it, and seeth it not; he seeth it with his outward and carnal eyes, but his inward eyes seeth it not; that is to say, regard not the bread, or think not on it: even as we commonly say, when we play a game negligently, (by my truth, I see not what I do,) meaning that our mind is not upon that thing which we see with our outward eyes. And likewise we may answer the next part, where he saith, Do they depart from thee into the draught, as other meats do? Nay, forsooth, said I, for other meats do only come to nourish the body, and to depart into the draught: but this meat that I here receive, is spiritual meat, received with faith, and nourisheth us everlastingly, both body and soul, and never entereth into the draught. And even as before, the outward eyes do see the bread, and yet the outward eyes do not regard that, or think upon it. So, likewise, the outward man digesteth the bread, and casteth it into the draught; and yet the inward man doth not regard that, nor think upon it, but thinketh on the thing itself that is signified by that bread.

The exposition of St. Chrysostom's text.

And therefore said Chrysostom, even a little before the words which they here alleged, Lift up your mind and hearts, (said he) whereby he monisheth us to look upon and consider those heavenly things which are represented and signified by the bread and wine, and not to mark the bread and wine in itself.

The true meaning of Chrysostom's words.

Here they will say unto me, that it is not Chrysostom's mind (for by his example he plainly showeth that there remaineth no bread nor wine); that I deny. For the example in this place proveth no more, but that ye shall not think on the bread and wine, no more than if they were not there, but only on that thing which is signified by them. And that ye may evidently perceive by the words following, where he saith, Think that the mysteries are consumed by the substance of the body.

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Solution. Now, whether Chrysostom thought that there remained bread or no, both ways shall our purpose be proved. First, if he thought there remained still bread and wine, then we have our purpose. Now, if he thought that the bread and wine remained not, but were changed, then are the bread and wine neither mysteries nor Sacraments of the body and blood of Christ; for that that is not, can neither be mystery nor Sacrament.

Conclusion. Finally, if he speak of the outward appearance of bread, then we know that that remaineth still, and is not consumed by the substance of the body; and therefore he must needs be understood as I take him.

I think many men wonder how I can die in this article, seeing that it is no necessary article of our faith, for I grant that neither part is an article necessary to be believed under pain of damnation, but leave it as a thing indifferent, to think therein as God shall instil in every man's mind, and that neither part condemn other for this matter, but receive each other in brotherly love, reserving each other's infirmity to God.

Behold the cause of my death. The cause of my death is this; because I cannot in conscience abjure and swear that our prelates' opinion of the Sacrament (that is, that the substance of bread and wine is verily changed into the flesh and blood of our Saviour, Jesus Christ,) is an undoubted article of the faith necessary to be believed, under pain of damnation.

Now, though this opinion were indeed true, (which thing they can neither prove true by Scripture nor Note. doctors,) yet could I not in conscience grant that it should be an article of the faith necessary to be believed, &c.; for there are many verities, which yet may be no such articles of our faith. It is true that I lay in irons when I wrote this: howbeit, I would not have you to receive this truth for an article of our faith; for you may think the contrary without all jeopardy of damnation.

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The cause why I cannot believe their opinion of transmutation is this: Three causes.

1. First, because I think verily that it is false, and can neither be proved by Scripture, nor faithful doctors, if they be well pondered.

2. The second cause is this; because I will not bind the congregation of Christ (by mine example) to admit any necessary article beside our Creed, and specially none such as cannot be proved true by Scripture. And I say that the Church, as they call it, cannot compel us to receive any such articles to be of necessity under pain of damnation.

3. The third cause is; because I dare not be so presumptuous in entering into God's judgment, as to make the prelates in this point a necessary article of our faith; for then I should damnably condemn all the Germans and Almains with infinite woe, which indeed do not believe nor think that the substance of bread and wine is changed into the substance of Christ's natural body. And surely I cannot be so foolish-hardy as to condemn such an infinite number, for our prelates' pleasures.

Thus all the Germans and Almains, both of Luther's side, and also of Oecolampadius, do wholly approve my matter. And surely I think there is no man that hath a pure conscience, but he will think that I die righteously; for that this transubstantiation should be a necessary article of the faith, I think no man can say it with a good conscience, although it were true indeed.

By me, JOHN FRITH.

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EPISTLE

TO THE CHRISTIAN RFADER.

As in the folio edition (1573,) of the Works of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes, the Antithesis annexed to the "Revelation of Antichrist" is reprinted, and which makes a part of the present volume, it appeared necessary to the completion of Frith's Works, to add the Epistle to the Christian Reader, prefixed to the same Treatise, which was as probably written by him as the Antithesis.

The following is the title of the book:

¶ A Pistle to
the Christen reader
¶ The Revelation of Antichrist.
¶ Antithesis / wherein are compa
red to geder Christes actes
and oure holye father
the Popes.

Colophon:

¶ At Malborow in the lande of Hes
se / the xij day of Julye / An
no M.CCCCC.XXIX.
by me Hans
Luft.

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RICHARD BRIGHTWELL UNTO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

GRACE, mercy, and the peace of God passing all understanding, which is the sure confidence of remission of sin in the blood of Christ, and perfect trust of the heritage of everlasting life in the same Christ our Lord, be with thee, Christian reader, and with all that call upon the name of Jesus. Albeit there was nothing that Christ spake, being present among us in this mortal life, but it had a quickness, spirit, and comfort: yet chiefly of all this warning precessed (in my judgment) all other words, where he exhorted us, while we had light to believe in the light, that we might be the children of light. And again, Yet a little while is the light with you, walk while ye have light, lest the darkness come on you; for he that walketh in the dark wotteth not whither he goeth. Who is this light that we are exhorted to believe in? Truly it is Christ, as St. John doth testify. He was the true light that lighteneth all men which come into the world. To believe in this light maketh us the children of light, and the sure inheritors with Jesus Christ. Even now have we cruel adversaries which set up their bristles, saying, Why, then, shall we do no good works? To these we answer as Christ did to the people in the vi. of St. John, which asked him what they should do that they might work the works of God? Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent; and after it followeth, Verily verily I say unto you, he that believeth on me hath everlasting life. To this also condescendeth St. John, in his Epistle,

Phill. iii.

John vi.

John xii.

John i.

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1 John v. saying, These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God, that you may surely know that you have eternal life. What is the name of the Son of God? Truly his name is Jesus, that is to say, a Saviour; therefore thou must believe that he is a Saviour. But what availeth this? The James ii. devils do thus believe and tremble. They know that he Matt. viii. is the Son of God, and said unto him, crying, O Jesu, the Son of God, what have we to do with thee? They know that he hath redeemed mankind by his passion, and laboured to let it; for when Pilate was set down to Matt. xxvii. give judgment, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man, for I have suffered many things this day in my sleep about him. No doubt she was vexed by the devil, to the intent that she should persuade her husband to give no sentence upon him, so that the longer Satan over mankind might have Hosea xiii. had jurisdiction. They know that he suppressed sin Heb. ii. 1 Cor. xv. and death, as it is written, Death is consumed in victory. Death, where is thy sting? hell, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin. The strength of sin is the 1 John v. law. But thanks be unto God, which hath given us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ, which by sin damned sin in the flesh, for God made him to be sin for Rom. viii. us, (that is to say, a sacrifice for our sin, and so is sin 2 Cor. v. taken in many places of the two Testaments,) which knew no sin, that we by his means should be that righteousness which before God is allowed. It is not therefore sufficient to believe that he is a Saviour and Redeemer, but that he is a Saviour and Redeemer unto thee; and this canst thou not confess, except thou knowledge thyself to be a sinner, for he that thinketh himself no sinner, needeth no Saviour and Redeemer. And of these Matt. ix. Christ saith, I came not to call righteous men, (that is Ps. xxxiii. to say, them that think themselves no sinners, for in very Rom. iii. deed there is none righteous, no not one,) but sinners to Matt. ix. repentance. For they which are strong have no need of

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a physician, but they that are sick. Therefore knowledge thyself a sinner, that thou mayest be justified. Not that the numbering of thy sins can make thee righteous. But rather a greater sinner, yea and a blasphemer of the holy name of God, as thou mayest see in Cain, which said that his sins were greater than he might receive forgiveness of God, and so was reprobate. Thou must keep therefore an order in thy justification, first considering what the law requireth on thee, which truly bindeth thee now to as much as though thou were in the state of innocency, and commandeth thee to be without concupiscence, which is original sin. Condemning the infants (that are not baptized in his blood) for this original sin, (yet could they not do withal,) which God of justice would not do except they had transgressed his law, and were bound to be without this concupiscence. If thou wouldest reason, why God doth thus, take Paul's answer, O man, what art thou which disputest with God? Know this, that it is God which giveth the sentence, with whom is no iniquity, but all justice and mercy. Howbeit if thou ask me, Why he bindeth us also (which are come to perfect understanding) to that which is impossible for us to accomplish? thou shalt have St. Augustin's answer, which saith in the second book he wrote to Hierome, that the law was given us, that we might know what to do and what to eschew, to the intent that when we see ourselves not able to do that which we are bound to, nor avoid the contrary, that then we may know what we shall pray for; and of whom we shall ask this strength; so that we may say unto our Father, Good Father, command whatsoever it pleaseth thee: and give us grace to fulfil that thou commandest. And when we perceive that we cannot fulfil his will, yet let us confess that the law is good and holy, and that we are sinners and carnal, sold under sin; but let us not here stick, for now we are at hell gates, and truly should fall into utter desperation, except God did

Gen. iii.

Rom. ix.

Rom. vii.

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bring us again, showing us his gospel and promise, saying, Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's pleasure to give you a kingdom. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater, for this is the witness which he testified of his Son. He that believeth in the Son of God, hath the witness in himself. He that believeth not God hath made him a liar, because he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son. And this is that record, how that God hath given us eternal life, and this life is in his Son, which was made our beast, bearing our sins upon his own back, made obedient unto the death, offering up our iniquities (as a sacrifice) unto his Father, being our mediator and atonement betwixt his Father and us. Made of God for us wisdom, righteousness, holiness, and redemption, fulfilling the law for us. So that sin hath no power over us, nor can condemn us; for our satisfaction is made in Christ, which died for us that were wicked, and naturally the children of wrath even as well as the other. But God, which is rich in mercy through the great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead through sin, hath quickened us with Christ, and with him hath raised us up, and with him hath made us sit in heavenly things through Jesus Christ, for to show in times to come the exceeding riches of his grace, in kindness to usward through Christ Jesus. For by grace are ye made safe through faith, and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himself. But of his fulness we have all received, and favour for favour, that is to say, the Father of heaven hath favoured us for his Son's sake, and not for our own deservings, (as when we see a man favoured and loved for another man's sake,) and hath promised us freely the inheritance of heaven. This promise must we believe with sure trust, and waver not, for he that doubteth is like the waves of the sea, tossed of the wind and carried with violence. Neither let that

Luke xii.
1 John v.
1 Peter ii.
Phil. ii.
1 John i.
1 Cor. i.
Rom. v.
Eph. ii.
James i.

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man think that he shall receive any thing of God. This gospel and promise must we look after with unfeigned hope, wherein because we should nothing doubt, God hath added an oath unto his promise, to show unto the heirs of promise the stableness of his counsel, that by those two immutable things (in which it was impossible that God should lie,) we might have perfect consolation which have fled for to hold fast the hope that is set before our faces, which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast. For this promise must we pray daily unto our Father, desiring to be loosed from this body, and to be with Christ, for we sigh in this body, desiring to be clothed with our mansion which is from heaven. And we know that then we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is, and shall be the perfect children of light. Therefore, dear brethren, we ought with all mind and affection to attend unto the things which we have heard, lest we be spilt; for if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down into hell, and put them in chains of darkness, there to be kept unto judgment; and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompence of reward, how shall we escape if we despise so great health? Take heed, dear brethren, that there be in none of you an evil heart in unbelief, that he should depart from the living God, but exhort one another daily, lest any of you wax hard-hearted and be deceived with sin. Remember that Christ exhorted us to walk whilst we have light, lest that the darkness come upon us, for he that walketh in the darkness, knoweth not whither he goeth. If a man walk in the day he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world; if a man walk in the night he stumbleth, because there is no light in him. This day and light (as we have said before,) is Christ, which saith, I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believe in me should not bide in darkness. Who is this darkness? Truly the philosophers say, that if a man know

Heb. vi. Phil. i. 2 Cor. v. 1 John iii. John xii. Heb. ii. 2 Pet. ii. Heb. iii. John vi.

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one of the contraries, he must needs know the other; but the light and the darkness are contrary, and Christ is the light, therefore it is necessary that the contrary to Christ (that is to say Antichrist,) should be the darkness. And there are divers Antichrists and adversaries to God the Father, to Christ, and to their Spirit, as the devil, the flesh, and the world. The devil was the first, and tempted Eve in paradise, which consenting to his temptation, persuaded Adam to eat of the fruit which God forbade them, and so was he the author of the condemnation of all Adam's posterity, and there God condemning the devil, gave a promise of our redemption in Christ, saying, I will put enmity between thee and the woman, between thy seed and her seed. And her seed shall depress and also break thy head, and thou shalt lie watching the sole of his foot. To this also agreeth St. Peter, saying, Your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour, whom resist steadfast in the faith, remembering that ye do but fulfil the same afflictions which are appointed to your brethren that are in the world. This confirmeth Christ himself, saying unto Peter, Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired you, to sift you as it were wheat; but I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not. Neither is it marvel though he do us thus assail, since he presumed to tempt our Lord in the wilderness. Let us not give place in this temptation, but keep faithfully our profession, for our High Priest (Christ Jesus) cannot but have compassion on our infirmities, for he was in all points like tempted, but yet without sin; let us therefore go boldly unto the seat of grace to help in time of need, that we be not tangled with his fair flattering and delicious enticements, that bring eternal damnation; but that we be strong in faith, praising the glorious name of God, which delivereth us from all evils. The second is the flesh, whereof it is written, The flesh lusteth contrary to the Spirit, and the Spirit contrary to the flesh. These

Gen. iii.

1 Pet.

Luke xvii.

Matt. iv.

Gal. v.

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are contrary one to the other, so that ye cannot do that which ye would. The 'flesh' is called not only the desires of the flesh, but all things that we do, think, or speak, yea our whole body, soul, reason, with the chiefest powers of them, if they be not led and governed with the Spirit of God. The 'Spirit' is every outward and inward work that a man, having faith and charity, (which are the fruits and gifts of the Spirit,) doth work, seeking spiritual things. This Spirit beareth witness unto our spirit that we are the children of God, for he that hath not this Spirit of Christ is none of his kingdom, but is the bond-servant of sin, under which he is subdued and remaineth captive under the law. But ye, dear brethren, are made dead as concerning the law, by the body of Christ, that ye should be coupled to him that is risen again from death, that we should bring forth fruit unto God; for when we were under the law, the lusts of sin which were stirred up reigned in our members, to bring forth fruit unto death. But now are we delivered from the law, and dead from it, whereunto we were in bondage, that we should serve in a new conversation of the Spirit, and not in the old conversation of the letter. We know that the fleshly mind is enmity against God, for it is not obedient to the law of God, neither can be, so that they which are given to the flesh cannot please God. We know that every man is tempted, drawn away, and enticed of his own concupiscence, and when this concupiscence and lust hath conceived, she bringeth forth sin: and sin when it is finished, bringeth forth death. We know that as long as we live in this world, we carry about with us the old man of sin, which (without he be by continual diligence suppressed and mortified) besiegeth the new man with his venom and concupiscences, (which is original sin,) planted as naturally in him as venom in a serpent's tooth. Since then we cannot be without this old man of sin, (for the which, no man shall be justified in the sight of God; for which, if we say that

Gal. v.
Rom. viii.
2 Pet. ii.
Rom. vi.
Rom. vii.
Rom. vii.
James i.
1 John i.

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we have no sin we are liars, and the truth is not in us; for the which, also, if we profit never so high, yet must
Matt. vi. we ever say, Forgive us, Father, our trespasses,) yet let us do our diligence, calling for the Spirit of God, that this concupiscence reign not in our mortal body, ever
John vi. knowledging, with a mild heart, our iniquities to our Father which is in heaven, for he is faithful and just to remit us our sins, and to purge us from all iniquity,
1 John i. through the blood of Jesus Christ his Son.

The third, which, either alone, or else chiefly, is counted Antichrist, because he resisteth the personal coming of Christ in the flesh for our redemption, is the world, of the which it is written, If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before you; if ye were of the world, the world would love that that is his own; because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore hateth you the world. And St. John exhorteth his brothers, like a faithful minister
1 John ii. of Christ, saying, See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him, for all that is in the world (as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of this life,) is not of the Father, but of the world. The world, in this place, is understood for them that are carnal and carnally minded; for these truly are Antichrists. But how shall we prove that?
1 John iv. since St. John seemeth contrary, where he saith, Verily, beloved, believe not every spirit, but prove the spirits, whether they are of God or no, for many false prophets are gone out into the world. Hereby shall ye know the Spirit of God: Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God. And every spirit which confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God: and this is that spirit of Antichrist, of which you have heard how that he should come, and even now already is he in the world. What shall we now say? Doth the world confess that Jesus

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Christ is come in the flesh? Yea, verily. How shall they be Antichrists? Truly, by St. Paul's expounding of the place where he saith, They confess that they know God, but with deeds they deny him, and are abominable and disobedient, and unto all good works discommendable. Do they say that they know him, and deny him in works? Yea, truly. Let us then also note, what St. John saith: He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the verity is not in him. To know the Lord is to have perfect faith in him. And perfect faith hath with him sure hope and charity. And of these followeth the fulfilling of the commandments necessarily, even as the light followeth the fire. Howbeit, here had we need to make a division, for the world hath two sorts of Antichrists: the one sort are in great power and authority, the other in subjection; the one obdurate and reproved, the other wandering out of the right way until it shall please the Father to draw them unto grace; the one resisting for stubbornness, knowing the truth, and so sin against the Holy Ghost; the other only for ignorance transgress the precepts. And these will I not speak of, because there come not so great jeopardies and perils of them, committing them only unto the provision of God, desiring him that his will be fulfilled, and to show his glory in them. The first I will touch somewhat; not for to teach them which are chosen of God, for they have an ointment of the Holy Ghost, and know all things, and need not that any teach them; but only to monish them of that which the Spirit hath taught them, and that Christ himself hath showed them. Christ said that there should arise false prophets and false Christs, (that is to say, false anointed,) and should deceive many, and gave his disciples a mark to know them, saying, Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. What meaneth he by sheep's cloth-

Rom. i.

1 John ii.

John vi.

1 John ii.

Matt. xviii.

Matt. vii.

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ing? Truly, nothing else but that they should come
Matt. xxiv. in his name, pretending great humility. But what are they in deed? Verily, ravening wolves; that is to say,
Phil. iii. beasts of the belly, for their belly is their God. And why come they to you? Truly, to despoil and rob you of your goods, promising vain pardons, and deliverance from the Pope's purgatory, to the intent that they might live idly, and in the lusts of the flesh, by your
Matt. vii. labours. How shall they be known? Christ saith, By their works shall you know them. Lay their works to the Scripture, and ye should lament their abominable living. But alas! you cannot, for they will not suffer you to have it; they keep that mete-yard from you that you should rule all things withal. They burn the Gospel of God, and very Christ himself, for he is nothing
John vii. but his word, as he testifieth himself, saying, I am that
John i. which I speak unto you. And again, In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word. And why do they hide this word of light from you? No doubt, because their works are
John iii. evil. For every man that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his works should be reproved; but he that worketh the verity cometh to the light, that his works may be openly seen, because they are done of God. They pretend to keep it from you for pure love, because you should take no hurt of
Gal. iv. it, neither fall into heresy; but they are jealous over you amiss; yea, they would clean exclude you from Christ, and make you follow them. And because they would the more easily bow you to their yoke, they begin betimes, compelling you, being very children of twelve years, to keep their fasts which they prescribe; and if you eat two meals in these prescript days, then must you to a priest, and confess a great transgression, submitting yourselves unto him, whatsoever he will enjoin unto you, and call it penance necessary for your soul's health. Oh, Lord God! what subtle illusions have they

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invented to reign in men's consciences; yea, and to begin so soon with them; truly, this was a far cast of belly-wisdom, if it were not the devil himself that imagined it. Paul rejoiceth in Timothy, (exhorting him to stand stiffly in those things which he had learned,) that of a child he had known the holy Scripture, which may instruct him unto health through the faith that is in Christ Jesus, showing the fruit and profit of it, saying, All Scripture, which is inspired from God, is profitable to instruction, to reproving and correcting, and to the bringing up, which is in righteousness, so that the man of God may be whole and consummate, prepared unto every good work. If it be thus profitable, I marvel why they do not suffer men to have it. Howbeit, they know very well that when a cloaked lie cometh to the light, it vanisheth away; and even so their coloured kingdom, if Scripture were known, would soon be dispersed like vapour and most vanity. In the mean season, I will show thee an evident reason, that thou mayest know without doubting which is the very Antichrist; and this argument may be grounded of their furious persecution, which Paul doth confirm, writing to the Galatians. We (dear brethren) are the children of promission, as Isaac was, not the sons of the bond-woman, as Ishmael; but even as he that was born after the flesh did persecute him that was born after the Spirit, even so now. Mark Paul's reason: By Isaac are signified the elect, and by Ishmael the reprobate. Isaac did not persecute, but contrary, Ishmael did persecute Isaac. Now, let us make our reason. All they that do persecute are Ishmael, the reprobate, and Antichrists. But all the popes, cardinals, bishops, and their adherents, do persecute; therefore all the popes, cardinals, bishops, and their adherents, be Ishmael, the reprobate, and Antichrists. I ween our sillogismus be well made, and in the first figure. The major is Paul's saying, Even as he that was born after the flesh did

2 Tim. iii.

Gal. iv.

Sillogismus.

Major.

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persecute him that was born after the Spirit, even so now. And of this mayest thou have many examples in the Testaments: as Jacob and Esau. Jacob was the chosen, and Esau was forsaken, and did persecute his brother Jacob; and not the contrary. Likewise David was chosen of God, and fled from Saul, yea, and from his own son Absalom. Here might I enumber all the prophets, which did never persecute, but ever were persecuted, yea, and many of them killed. Let us descend unto Christ, and we shall see that he was no sooner born than persecuted of Herod, and compelled to flee into Egypt, and his persecution never ceased until he was brought to death. The apostles were all persecuted, beaten, prisoned, and at length killed. And I think verily, that so long were the successors of the apostles good Christians, when they were persecuted and martyred, and no longer. So impossible it is that the word of the cross should be without affliction. Simeon prophesied, and said unto Mary the mother of Christ, Behold, this child is put into the destruction, and into the resurrection of many of Israel; and into the sign which shall be resisted and spoken against. Not that he should resist them, but that he should be resisted, and even caused to fly; for the world was never so faithful but the more part were wicked. I wonder they fear not the parable of Christ, where he gave commandment they should suffer the weeds to grow among the corn until the harvest, expounding the weeds to be the children of Satan and reprobate persons; for now-a-days, if a man believe not as they will have him, he shall be burned. Be it in case he were the very adversary of Christ, (but I know none of them that will go to the fire,) should they then burn him and Christ say nay? Yea forsooth, for they can set Christ to school, and say this is better. I wis Paul had never been good corn if he had been destroyed when he was weeds and the adversary of Christ. Let them be-

Rom. ix. Matt. i. Gen. xxvii. 1 Reg. xix. 2 Reg. xv. It was never read that the chosen did persecute any.

Matt. ii.

Luke ii.

Matt. xiii.

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ware lest they be ordered as Saul was, which was commanded to destroy the king of Amalech and all his goods; howbeit he spared the king's life and the fairest goods and cattels, making sacrifice with them unto God; which, if belly-wisdom were any thing worth, should seem a marvellous good deed; howbeit it did displease God so sore, that he said unto Samuel, he repented that he had made Saul king, because Saul had forsaken him, and had not indeed fulfilled his words. And therefore he was deprived of his kingdom, and ran far into the indignation of God. Even so I fear me these Antichrists, which presume to contrary Christ's words, will lose the kingdom of glory which was prepared for the faithful before the foundations of the world were cast. Now let us prove the minor, for of these two parts followeth the conclusion of necessity. 2 Reg. xv. Eph. i.

The minor is, that all popes, cardinals, bishops, and their adherents, do persecute. Needeth this any probation? I think some of you have proved it. I ensure you they are as merciful as the wolf is on his prey. They were ordained to bless men, but they curse as the devil were in them. Paul saith, that he hath power into edifying, and not into destruction. But I wot not of whom these bloody beasts have their authority, which do so much rejoice in cursing and destruction. We read how Paul did excommunicate the Corinthian, (and truly for a great transgression,) to the intent that he might be ashamed of his iniquity, and desired again the Corinthians to receive him with all charity: but that the apostles did curse any man, truly we cannot read in Scripture, for Christ commanded them to bless those that cursed them, and to pray for those that persecuted them, saying unto them, In this world you shall have affliction, and in me you shall have peace. But the popes, cardinals, with all their ragman's roll, have none affliction. Therefore either they are none of Christ's flock, or else Christ himself is a liar. St. Paul *Minor.* 2 Cor. x. 1 Cor. xiii. 1 Cor. v. 2 Cor. ii. John xv.

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2 Tim. iii. saith, that all which will live godly in Christ shall suffer persecution; but the pope, with his adherents, suffer not, but rather persecute. Therefore, they live not godly in Christ, or else, Paul, thou art a liar, for thou exceptest none. I think our minor be sufficiently proved. Howbeit, thou mayest not say so, for truly they will separate you from their synagogues; yea, to this furious madness are they come, that if they kill John xxi. you (as Christ prophesied,) they will think themselves to do honour and pleasure to God; and this shall they do unto you, because they have not known my Father, Matt. x. neither me. Howbeit, let us not fear them that kill the body, and have no farther power, but rather him that, after he hath killed the body, hath power to cast the soul into everlasting fire. And to him let us pray with one accord, that he will shorten these perilous 1 Tim. iv. times; and although we be sinners, worthily abject, and clean unworthy this godly deliverance, for we have sinDaniel ix. ned and committed iniquity, and have departed, Lord, from thy commandments; yet consider, good Father, thy holy testament and promise, for thou art righteous, be we never so wicked, and must needs fulfil thy proPs. lxxiii. mise for thy truth's sake. Arise, good Lord, and avenge thine own cause; forget not these abominable blasphemies which this foolish and beastly people, clean ignorant of thy justice, and seeking their own righteousness, do cast upon thee continually; they are thy enemies, and speak odious and wicked words against thy glorious son Jesus Christ, (whom thou hast given us, and whom thou hast made our satisfaction, justification, and redemption,) vainly presuming upon their own works and merits. Extend thy hand (oh Lord!) against their presumptuous minds. How long shall thine enemy provoke thee? Shall he continue resisting thy name perpetually? Remember that holy congregation whom thou hast chosen from the beginning. 2 Tim. ii. Suffer them not to be brought into this strong illusion,

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which for abundance of sin thou hast sent into the world, that they might be condemned which have not believed the truth, but had pleasure in iniquity. Deliver the souls of thy chosen from these beasts, that thou mayest be known to be very God, and that thy name may be glorified through all the world, that they which by thy sufferance and lenity have not been brought unto repentance, may feel thy scourge, and be compelled (as Pharaoh was) to demit thy chosen children, and to knowledge thy power and omnipotency. And that we may serve thee with a pure heart, knowledging that thou and thy son Jesus Christ be but only one God; whose grace be with all that love the Lord Jesus Christ unfeignedly, which is very God, and everlasting life, to whom be all glory now and eternally. Amen.

Rom. ii.

Exod. xv.

John xvii.

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